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A Portrait of Arsinoe Philadelphos

DOROTHY BURR THOMPSON

PLATES 54-55

In the private collection of M. N. Sisilianos in Athens, is a small stone head,¹ which ranks high among the portraits that have come down to us. For it can be identified and dated. It is a portrait of the famous Ptolemaic queen, Arsinoe Philadelphos; it must have been carved very close to the year 270 B.C.

This little head is made of Egyptian basalt (pl. 54, figs. 1, 2), which has weathered to a brownish black.² The back has been broken away; the rise on the edges and the asymmetry of the eyes and of the head ornament suggest that it comes from a relief. Unfortunately for a proper understanding of the original appearance, the nose is missing. The features are those of a handsome woman. The hair is drawn in crinkled strands back toward a knot at the nape. A narrow fillet binds the head, retaining traces of an ornament above the forehead that consisted of a central ridge and two curling side members. These must have been the base of the royal snake emblem, the uraeus.³ The face itself is characterized by a low, triangular forehead, a long nose, firm cheeks, with a slight suggestion of cheekbones, round, prominent eyes, and a small, bowed mouth, with the lower lip turned outward, making a deep groove between it and the chin, which is small and rounded. The treatment of the eyes, on which the upper lid is drawn over the lower and extended far beyond it, is an Alexandrian mannerism, frequently visible on Hellenistic sculpture made in Egypt.⁴ This technical detail, taken into consideration with the fact that the stone is basalt, indicates that this piece was made in Alexandria.

One other feature, moreover, and the most significant, makes the Ptolemaic connections indubitable.

¹ The head was bought in Athens without information about its provenience. I am most grateful to M. Sisilianos for permission to publish it. Dr. Gerhard Kleiner was good enough to look at the head with me and to give me the benefit of his comments. The photographs are by the kindness of Miss Alison Frantz. Professor Alan Wace gave this article the benefit of his comments.

² Preserved height, 0.083 m.; preserved width, 0.07 m.; thickness, 0.035 m.

³ Cf. for example the plan of the damaged uraei on early Ptolemaic heads in Yale, W. Needler, *Berytus* 9 (1949) pls. xxiii-iv.

⁴ On this Egyptianizing treatment of the eye, see *AJA* 54 (1950) 384. Dr. Bernard V. Bothmer, who has studied many

ble. This is the horn, which emerges from the hair to curl backward and downward behind the ear. It seems to grow naturally from the wavy locks, yet its crisp outline and striations define it as a ram's horn. The ram's horn, so far as I know, was the attribute of only one woman, namely, Queen Arsinoe II, Philadelphos, the wife of Ptolemy II. On her coins and on hers alone appears the ram's horn below the ear (pl. 54, fig. 3).⁵ Why should the queen wear a ram's horn? For once, history has given us the answer.

Fundamentally, the answer lies in the character of this amazing woman herself, whose vitality and abilities must have appeared superhuman.⁶ Born about 316 B.C., Arsinoe first married King Lysimachus of Thrace, then an old man. His son, Agathocles, is said to have aroused and rejected the young queen's passion and promptly to have received his Hippolytan reward in death by poison. Arsinoe bore Lysimachus three sons, but two were murdered by Ptolemy Keraunos, her half-brother, whom she married after the death of Lysimachus in 281 B.C. Her older son, Ptolemy, escaped. She herself was in grave danger of her life at the hands of her new husband, but luckily the Gauls intervened, killed Keraunos and carried his head about as a mascot on their further campaigns. Arsinoe and her son escaped to Egypt. There she again exercised her charms and energy to gain control of her brother, King Ptolemy II. Soon she had guided him to expel his wife, who was her step-sister, to marry herself, and to adopt her son as his heir. The marriage probably took place in the winter 276/5 B.C.,⁷ despite the fact that Arsinoe was the King's full sister. This canny political move, which fol-

Ptolemaic heads, agrees with me on the presumable development of the treatment of the eye as there outlined.

⁵ I. N. Svoronos, *Tὰ Νομίσματα τῶν Κράτους τῶν Πτολεμαῖον* III (1904) pls. xvif.

⁶ G. H. Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens* (Baltimore 1932) 111ff. The historical sources are summarized in Pauly-Wissowa, *RE* (Wilcken) s.v. Arsinoe II, and Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte* IV, 1 (1925) and IV, 2 (1927) *passim*.

⁷ The chronology of the life of Arsinoe was originally studied by A. Wiedemann, "Zur Chronologie der Arsinoe Philadelphos," *RhM* 38 (1883) 384ff. New evidence has corrected some of the earlier assumptions. See *CAH* 7, 703; Tarn, *JHS* 46 (1926) 161.

lowed Egyptian royal custom,⁸ strengthened the dynastic position locally, though it shocked the Hellenistic world. Theocritus, as court poet, skillfully reconciled the critical by likening the marriage to that of Zeus and Hera: "Such were the nuptials too of the immortal gods."⁹

Ptolemaic Egypt at this time was suffering grim defeats in its war with Syria. The new queen set her hand to rectifying the situation. She reorganized the army; she accompanied it on its campaigns; she won the Syrian war.¹⁰ Her grateful husband acknowledged his debt to her policies on a stele of 266 B.C.¹¹ Arsinoe next concentrated on building up relations between Athens and Egypt in order to offset in Greece the power of Antigonus Gonatas of Macedon. Alexis, the Athenian dramatist, makes a charming bow to the powerful queen in a toast offered to the royal pair in one of his plays—four cups of unmixed wine to the *δύονοια* between the two great states,¹² a strong drink, but deserved. It may well have been at this time that statues were erected in honor of the Ptolemies that stood later in front of the Athenian Odeum, but these would presumably have been offered by the Athenians and cannot therefore have any connection with our head.¹³ In Egypt Arsinoe apparently did much; the great nome of the Fayum was named Arsinoe after her.¹⁴ Memnon tells us that she was "one to get her own way"; *ἥν γὰρ δεινὴ περιελθεῖν*.¹⁵ Rumor said that she continued her intrigues and murders.¹⁶ But not for long. After about five years of her Egyptian career, she died, on July 9, 270 B.C.¹⁷

Her death was the occasion for an outbreak of lamentation and ostentatious memorials. Cities¹⁸ and streets¹⁹ were named for Arsinoe. Eratosthenes wrote the biography²⁰—a document that we should dearly love to read, if only behind closed doors. A festival was established in the royal honor in

⁸ J. Černy, "Consanguineous Marriages in Pharaonic Egypt," *JEA* 40 (1954) 23ff., after examining lists of workmen and citizens concludes that consanguineous marriages are attested chiefly for royalty and were not common Egyptian practice.

⁹ *Idyll* 17, lines 129-136 (translated by R. C. Trevelyan, 1947).

¹⁰ W. W. Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilisation* (London 1930) 13, 53; Macurdy, *op.cit.* 119.

¹¹ Macurdy, *op.cit.* 118f.; Beloch, *Gr. Geschichte* IV, 1, pp. 582ff.; *IG* II, 332: δ τε βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος ἀκολούθως τει τῶν προγόνων καὶ τει τῆς ἀδελφῆς προ[α]ιρέσει. . . .

¹² Alexis frg. 244. Cf. W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens* (London 1911) 169ff.

¹³ *ibid.* 171; Pausanias, 1.8.6.

¹⁴ E. Kiessling, "Zum Kult der Arsinoe im Fayum," *Aegyptus* 13 (1933) 542ff.

¹⁵ F. Jacoby, *Frag. Gr. Hist.* 3B (1950) 342.

¹⁶ It was said that Arsinoe eliminated Ptolemy's heirs by

Delos.²¹ Arsinoeia were built here and there—at Alexandria, Memphis, Samothrace. The poets vied to glorify her in verse, particularly Callimachus, who wrote a dirge, fascinating for its baroque style.²² Another poem, which he wrote later, ca. 246 B.C., *The Lock of Berenice*,²³ shows how her cult survived, infused with more and more extravagant symbolism. Little of the original is left, but we have the translation by Catullus. One passage is interesting to us for the iconography of Arsinoe. It runs thus:²⁴

Abiunctae paulo ante comae mea fata sorores
lugebant, cum se Memnonis Aethiopis
unigena impellens nutantibus aera pennis
obtulit Arsinoes Locridos ales equos,
isque per aetherias me tollens avolat umbras
et Veneris casto collocat in gremio.

That is, the lock which Berenice is offering for the safe return of her husband, Ptolemy Euergetes, is mourned by its sister-locks as it is being borne to heaven and the lap of Venus by an "ales equos." This cannot be Pegasus, for it is definitely the steed of Arsinoe and it is born of one parent, namely, Memnon, king of Aethiopia. Now, Ovid tells us the story of a flock of birds that were born from the blood of Memnon, the Memnonides.²⁵ Their fabulous birth, cyclic career, and immortality are much the same as those of the eastern bird of rebirth, the phoenix. The two legends are clearly variants of one tradition. It is significant, as an editor of Catullus, de Gubernatis, has pointed out,²⁶ that Arsinoe's statue was seen in the Valley of the Muses by Pausanias, who describes it thus: *τὴν δὲ Ἀρσινόην στρονθὸς φέρει χαλκὴ τῶν ἀπτήνων*.²⁷ He goes on, quite correctly, to explain that the great weight and size of these birds, which we translate as ostriches, prevented their flying. He must, with

accusations of plotting, Macurdy, *op.cit.* 118f.

²¹ Meyer's synchronization of the Greek and Egyptian calendars makes this date 269 B.C., but 270 B.C. seems most generally accepted. See Beloch, *op.cit.* IV.2, p. 182.

²² Ferguson, *op.cit.* 175, note 2; *CAH* 7, 704f.

²³ Tarn, *op.cit.* 159.

²⁴ Referred to by Athenaeus, 7.276 b.

²⁵ *CAH* 7, 101 and 705f.

²⁶ R. Pfeiffer, "Arsinoe Philadelphos in der Dichtung," *Die Antike* 2 (1926) 161ff.; A. Körte, *Hellenistic Poetry* (translated by J. Hammer and M. Hadas) (New York 1929) 106ff.

²⁷ Körte, *op.cit.* 142ff.

²⁸ Catullus, 66. 51ff.

²⁹ Ovid, *Metam.* 13.516ff.; *RE* s.v. Memnon, 644ff.

³⁰ M. Lechianti de Gubernatis, *Il Libro di Catullo* (Turin 1951) 197ff.

³¹ Pausanias, 9.31.1.

his occasional scepticism, have wondered why Arsinoe rode such a pedestrian charger. It seems altogether likely that what Pausanias saw was a statue of Arsinoe being borne to heaven on the back of one of the Memnonides, or even on a phoenix. Iconographically, the phoenix was probably not known in Greece in Pausanias' time; in fact, Hadrian, on his coins derived from the Egyptian symbolism that so appealed to him, first introduced it to the Graeco-Roman world.²⁸ These representations look not at all unlike ostriches and one large enough to carry the queen would certainly easily be mistaken for an ostrich. As a phoenix, the "ales equos" would be a worthy steed for Arsinoe, carrying her to a fitting apotheosis. It seems probable that Ptolemy, as a patron of the Alexandrian Museum, would have paid especial honor to the home of the Muses,²⁹ there erecting a statue to the divine queen in the baroque mode that he loved, thus infusing her memory with implications of immortality.

The iconography of Arsinoe is likely, then, to be informed with conceptions of deification. To us another aspect is more significant. The date of the queen's death is recorded on a long inscription in the Egyptian language which was found near Cairo in 1871.³⁰ It is called the Mendes stele because it deals with the cult of a god whom the Greeks called Mendes and identified with Pan.³¹ The Egyptians regarded him as a goat-god, that is, he appeared to them in the form of a goat, as Apis appeared as a bull. The pictorial hieroglyph representing him, however, depicts a ram. This confusion is not so absurd as it seems. Since no fundamental difference exists between sheep and goats, in primitive times probably no differentiation existed and the same

²⁸ RE s.v. *Phoinix*, 420f. It is interesting to note that an appearance of the phoenix is supposed to have taken place in the reign of Ptolemy II and may well have been connected by popular tradition with the apotheosis of Arsinoe. The phoenix first appears as a symbolic type in art on the coins of Hadrian, issued in A.D. 118. See H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum* III (1936) 245, pl. 47, 8-9, and pp. cxxviii. Here it is represented as a long-legged bird not at all unlike an ostrich.

²⁹ It is perhaps worthy of note that Frazer, *Pausanias*, 5.156, shows that the games called Musaea in the region of Helicon were reorganized in the mid-third century B.C.—very possibly the statue of Arsinoe might have been erected at this time, all due to the beneficent interest of Ptolemy as patron of the Museum?

³⁰ The only available translation (in German): H. Brugsch, "Die grosse Mendes-stele aus der Zeit des zweiten Ptolemäers," *Zeitschr. für ägypt. Sprache und Alterthumsk.* 13 (1875) 33ff. Transcription of the completed text: K. Sethe, *Hieroglyphische Urkunden der griech.-röm. Zeit* II (Leipzig 1904) 28-54;

hieroglyph was used for both.³² In any case, the goat-god is represented as ram-headed. This is of vital interest to us, because the Mendes stele records the generosity of Ptolemy II toward the cult of Mendes, including his financing a new temple and erecting new images.³³ He gives his queen the usual titles: (11) Princess great of favor, sweet of love, beautiful queen, who has received the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt, whose loveliness fills the palace, beloved of the Ram, priestess of the Ram, sister of the king, wife of the king, his beloved, mistress of the Two Lands, Arsinoe. In the year 15 (that is, 270 B.C.) . . . this goddess she went forth to the sky. . . . (12) She went forth a *ba*.³⁴ There was rejoicing for her in Mendes to make her festival, to cause her *ba* to live. . . . (13) His Majesty commanded that her ram-image be erected in all temples. It was good in the heart of her priests. . . . Her image was placed in Mendes at the side of the living rams . . . (14) her gilded images in every nome . . . her cartouche was made as one beloved of the Ram, a goddess beloved of her brother, Arsinoe. . . . (19) In the year 21 (that is, 264 B.C.) one was chosen to say to His Majesty: The house of your father, the Ram, Lord of Mendes, is finished in its every work. . . . Your cartouche has been carved, the cartouche of your father (and) the goddess beloved of her brother, Arsinoe. . . .

This stele clearly ordains that images of the divine Arsinoe in the form of a ram (or wearing its symbol) should be set up in Egypt. On the Mendes stele itself appears a relief showing the king and queen worshipping the god; the head of the queen, who is shown in purely Egyptian style and costume, is unfortunately mutilated. Schol-

Ahmed Kamal, *Stèles ptolémaïques et romaines* (Cairo 1904-5) 159ff. Cairo No. 22181, pls. 54f. (photographs).

³¹ Roscher, *Lexikon* s.v. Mendes (E. Meyer) 2770ff.; Herodotus, 42 and 46; W. Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians* II (London 1904) 353f., considers that this cult was founded in very early times.

³² R. Lydekker, *Ency. Brit.* (eleventh edition) s.v. Goats: "Although the more typical goats are markedly distinct from sheep, there is, both as regards wild and domesticated forms, an almost complete gradation from goats to sheep, so that it is exceedingly difficult to define either group."

³³ Sethe, *Urkunden* II, 29ff., lines 11 to 26; this translation and much help on matters Egyptian, I owe to Miss Elizabeth Thomas.

³⁴ On this inscription, the sound *ba* sometimes means Ram and sometimes that element that is usually translated Soul. The titles of Mendes, "Living *ba*, chief of young women," as well as Herodotus' accounts, leave no doubt that the fertility aspects were the primary attributes of the god. Cf. Roscher, *Lexikon*, 2775.

ars have, however, traced the outlines of the spreading goat-horns commonly worn by Mendes himself. He wears also sometimes the downcurling horns of a Nubian goat.³⁵ On other reliefs of the Ptolemaic period, which show the queen in similar Egyptian style,³⁶ no such horns appear. It is, therefore, open to question whether they were ever shown on Egyptian reliefs. Nor until now has any Hellenized major representation of Arsinoe Philadelphos been found that portrays her in the form of a ram or wearing its emblem. The Sisilianos head, therefore, is of great importance in being the sole survivor of this peculiar iconographic type, except for the coins.

J. G. Milne, in discussing this series of coins, ascribes the origin of the type to Arsinoe herself.³⁷ He bases his theory on the fact that heads of Alexander wearing the horn of Ammon first appear on the coins issued by Lysimachus of Thrace, the husband of Arsinoe. He considers that the rise of interest in Ammon among the Greeks of Alexandria begins with Ptolemy II and is therefore to be attributed to the clever policy of Arsinoe to strengthen Ptolemaic position by Egyptianization. But to interpret the horn on Arsinoe's head as that of Ammon finds no support whatever from any other source. On the other hand, we have seen that Ptolemy ordered that his wife's image be set up relating her to the god, Mendes. It seems clear, therefore, that the horn on her head is the horn of Mendes. Since he was a god to whom women were particularly devoted, Arsinoe, who had borne no children to Ptolemy, may well have had a very personal reason for favoring his cult.

The Egyptian text makes Arsinoe share the shrine with Mendes,³⁸ but it does not specify exactly how she was to be represented. We now have the answer—at least the form in Hellenic idiom. It naturally follows a type that had been estab-

³⁵ Ency. Brit., *op.cit.* The Nubian goat of Upper Egypt is described as having "horns slightly twisted and very short, flat at the base, pointed at the tips and recumbent on the head."

³⁶ E.g. *Berytus* 9 (1949) pl. xxiv, 1, a relief in the University Museum, Philadelphia. For others see the references in B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss, *Topological Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Texts, Reliefs and Paintings* (Oxford). A series of Hellenizing Egyptian works forms another category of portrait, which is beyond the scope of this article, e.g. M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (New York 1955) 92, figs. 351-353, identified by Miss Nora Scott, not without probability, as Arsinoe II.

³⁷ J. Grafton Milne, "Arsinoe and Ammon," *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith* (London 1932) 13ff.

³⁸ Cf. her sharing the cult of Alexander, A. D. Nock, "Σέναος Θεός" *HSCP* 41 (1930) 1ff.; E. Kiessling, *Aegyptus* 13

lished in Greek iconography as early as the fifth century B.C.³⁹ It is essentially a Greek conception—not an animal-headed monster, but a human being, wearing the symbol of the god. Our head, therefore, must date after the queen's death, after the decree of Ptolemy, but presumably before his commands had been completed, in 264 B.C. It probably dates also before 267/6 B.C., for in that year a papyrus refers to a Kanephoros serving Arsinoe, who was evidently by this time identified with Aphrodite.⁴⁰ She is shown in that rôle on the commemorative coins, wearing horn, stephane, and veil and carrying a sceptre. Our head, then, crowned only by the royal fillet and uraeus, is presumably earlier, that is, between 270-267 B.C.

It is significant that the Sisilianos head is carved in Greek style, but slightly under Egyptian influence. It must have come from a monument designed for a Greek centre. Since our head was bought in Athens, we must admit the possibility that it was found in Greece. Its size and character preclude its connection with the well-known statue of Arsinoe that later stood before the Odeum in the Athenian Agora.⁴¹ Since it comes from a relief, we may consider that it might have headed a letter or a votive relief dedicated by His Majesty in some Athenian sanctuary to the Egyptian gods.⁴² But as it is always possible that a small piece might have been brought from a distance in later times, we must leave unprofitable speculations.

Much more profitable is the consideration of the Sisilianos head as a work of art against the background of Alexandrian tradition. The carving is good, if not brilliant, done by a hand well-trained and sensitive to the medium of stone. The features are not unduly refined, but not vacuous. This style fits well into Miss Helen Smith's outline of Hellenistic portrait style as evinced on Ptolemaic coins

(1933) 543.

³⁹ R. Lepsius, "Über die widderköpfigen Götter . . . und die gehörnten Köpfe auf griech. Münzen," *Zeitschrift für ägypt. Sprache* 15 (1877) 8ff. A youthful head wearing ram's horns appears as early as the fifth century B.C. in Greek states, A. B. Cook, *Zeus* I, 371ff.; J. L. Tondria, "Alexandre le grand assimilé à différentes divinités," *Rev. Phil* 23 (1949) 41ff. I owe this reference and many suggestions to Professor Erik Sjöqvist.

⁴⁰ B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *The Hibeh Papyri* (London 1906) 270, No. 98, line 9.

⁴¹ See above note 13.

⁴² S. Dow, "The Egyptian Cults in Athens," *HTHR* 30 (1937) 184ff., has gathered all the available material, none of which throws any light on our head. Cf. for character the basalt relief of an archaic Hermes from Canopus, *B.M. Cat. Sculpt.* III, 265.

of the period.⁴³ "The faces are not precisely fleshy, but have a certain boneless quality, while the hair of Ptolemy II occasionally suggests soft naturalistic texture."⁴⁴ The basic structure of our head is obviously derived from the fourth-century Praxitelean canon, with its oval shape, high crown, and low, triangular forehead; the crinkled hair is particularly like that on post-Praxitelean heads such as the girl from Kos.⁴⁵ Only the eyes differ markedly in their large size and protruding emphasis, exactly like those on the early Ptolemaic coins.

Our head, then, bears a subtle reference to the beauty of Aphrodite; it is the head of a young girl, fresh, almost wistful. How can this possibly represent Arsinoe, a woman of about 45, and of considerable emotional experience? Speaking of the commemorative coins, Tarn states the paradox;⁴⁶ "Nothing can be less like the Arsinoe of tradition and no lovelier face has come down to us from the Greek world." We confront that delicate and ever-controversial problem—the nature of portraiture. What did a Greek sculptor mean when he undertook to present the face of a queen; what does Epstein mean to show—or Graham Sutherland? Churchill claimed that his portrait, done from life, made him look half-witted. Arsinoe, we fancy, would have laughed at the flattery inherent in hers.

In ancient times, even more than in modern, factual realism was practically unattainable. Few artists were admitted to the presence of the famous people whom they wished to portray. If, as in the case of Alexander, an artist was designated, he certainly was not free to express his honest opinion, with the king looking over his shoulder.⁴⁷ From the few authentic portraits made of royalty other artists must have made copies in an ever-widening circle of freedom. There is no reason to believe that our modest relief was done from life; it was more probably copied from an archetype issued by the

court after Arsinoe's death. We presumably come closest to this archetype on the portrait coins that were struck officially to commemorate the queen's deification. Let us compare them with our head in order to assess its value as a portrait.⁴⁸

The earliest coins bearing the head of Arsinoe II are those struck by Ephesus in the brief era under Lysimachus when that city was renamed for his queen, Arsinoe.⁴⁹ They must date between 286-280 B.C. Arsinoe was in her early thirties. The coins (pl. 54, fig. 4) show a woman of that age, a mantle drawn up over her melon coiffure. She wears no emblem of royalty. The face is decidedly human and may well be a portrait. The cheeks are plump, the nose long, the mouth small and parted, the chin round, the neck ringed. Considering the modest size of these coins, they are reasonably consistent with the type of our stone head. We can readily believe that in her lifetime Arsinoe looked somewhat like this. Now it is revealing to glance at the series of coins showing the jugate heads of the fraternal sovereigns and of their parents.⁵⁰ These coins are usually supposed to have been begun after the death of Arsinoe, in 270 B.C. The series was continued for a long time, even under the later Ptolemies. Though the dies vary considerably with time, the types remain fairly consistent (pl. 55, fig. 5). The taste for candid portraiture exhibited on these coins is almost shocking. Arsinoe looks all her forty years; her face is drawn, her long nose peaky, her mouth irritably pursed, her chin sagging, her neck heavily ringed. Moreover, her eyes protrude sensationaly. In all these features, she closely resembles her mother and her brother on the same coins. Jacobsthal has shrewdly suggested that thyroid aberrations may have run in the family.⁵¹ That we may regard these features as reasonably authentic is confirmed by the fact that on these same coins the head of Ptolemy I is dif-

⁴³ H. W. Smith, "Sculptural Style on Ptolemaic Portrait Coins," *Berytus* 10 (1950-51) 21ff.

⁴⁴ *ibid.* 28. Miss Smith considers that the coins of Ptolemy are in a "Blank style," a term too severe for the sensitive if temperate rendering of our head, though perfectly applicable to the numismatic style.

⁴⁵ M. Bieber, *Jdl* 38-39 (1923-24) 261, pl. vi. Cf. a head in Cassel, figs. 8-10, which Dr. Bieber describes in terms equally applicable to our head. Cf. also the hair and mouth with those of the fine head from Alexandria, Lawrence, *JEA* 11 (1925) 185, pl. xxi, 2.

⁴⁶ W. W. Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas* (Oxford 1913) 123, speaking of the coin on our fig. 3 b.

⁴⁷ Pliny, *N.H.* 35. 85 gives us a delightful glimpse into the studio of Apelles.

⁴⁸ The reliability of coins as evidence for portrait types has been variously assessed; cf. A. J. B. Wace, *BSA* 9 (1902) 236f.; *JHS* 25 (1905) 86; E. Pfuhl, *Jdl* 45 (1930) 3ff.; H. W. Smith, *op.cit.* 22ff.; A. Westholm, *The Temples of Soli* (Stockholm 1936) 191.

⁴⁹ Svoronos, *op.cit.* III, pl. xxvi, 11-15; IV, cols. 39ff. U. Kahrstedt, "Frauen auf antiken Münzen," *Klio* 10 (1910) 266; W. Koch, "Die erste Ptolemäerinnen nach ihren Münzen," *ZNum* 34 (1923-24) 80f.

⁵⁰ Svoronos, *op.cit.* III, pl. xiv, 15-31; IV, cols. 125ff. R. S. Poole, *Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum, The Ptolemies* (London 1883) pp. xxxviiiff., pl. vii, indicates that our fig. 5, a coin in the Cabinet de Médailles, is late in the series. Our fig. 5 is taken from Charbonneau, *op.cit.* fig. 7, where the female head is wrongly labelled Berenice.

⁵¹ *JHS* 48 (1928) 242, note 21.

ferent from the other three and follows closely the highly individual type that was created by some talented artist during the king's lifetime.

We have, then, a portrait of the queen Arsinoe during her later years, plump, irritable, mean. This is admirably in keeping with the character described by Eratosthenes in his report of her conduct during a festival in Alexandria.⁵² Arsinoe watched the people bringing their jugs so that they might picnic together; she recoiled from the sight of the "mixed mob" having a promiscuous and filthy feast, "συνοίκια γε ταῦτα ῥυπαρά." Her arrogance could scarcely have endeared her to the populace, but she seems to have bought a certain respect by putting on lavish spectacles, such as is described in Theocritus' famous *Idyll* 15. Doubtless the women really mourned her when she died and wailed, as Callimachus reports,⁵³ "ἀμετέρα]βασίλεια φρούδα."

This romanticizing of the dead queen is clearly reflected in the great gold and silver coins that were issued after her apotheosis.⁵⁴ It appears that those marked with no date-letter were struck during the reign of Ptolemy II⁵⁵ (e.g. our fig. 6, pl. 55). The type was continued for a long time, until the august features slowly degenerated into those of a hag.⁵⁶ Of the earlier issues, one (pl. 54, fig. 3a),⁵⁷ without a date-letter, which Kahrstedt and Newell believe to be a sign that it was among the first struck, shows a face not unlike that on the coins of Ephesus just mentioned (pl. 54, fig. 4), but thinner and more mature. We may regard this as the official portrait. With time, the queen loses her human aspect and becomes more divine. It is fascinating to see how the engraver keeps the features of the queen, but touches them with the subtlest flattery. The stout

⁵² Athenaeus, 7, 276 b-c.

⁵³ Macurdy, *op.cit.* 127; R. Pfeiffer, *Callimachus I* (Oxford 1944) No. 228, line 9.

⁵⁴ Svoronos, *op.cit.* III, pls. xv and xvi; *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Ptol.*, pl. viii.

⁵⁵ J. Charbonneau, "Portraits ptolémaïques au musée du Louvre," *MonPiot* 47 (1953) 118ff., fig. 22. I owe this reference to M. Pierre Amandry. Cf. Svoronos, *op.cit.* IV, cols. 94f.; Kahrstedt, *op.cit.* 264.

⁵⁶ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Ptol.*, pl. viii, 9-10.

⁵⁷ *ibid.* pl. viii, 1 (our fig. 3a); cf. pl. xxxi, 1 (our fig. 4) Miss Margaret Thompson kindly indicated to me the order in which Newell had arranged these coins at the Numismatic Society.

⁵⁸ H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Roman Pottery in the British Museum* (London 1908) 12, pl. v, K77 (left side of plate); Macurdy, *op.cit.* fig. 6. In general recently, G. Kleiner, *Tanagrafiguren* (Berlin 1942) 20f.

⁵⁹ Athenaeus, 11, 497 b.

⁶⁰ For example, a jug in Istanbul shows a queen sacrificing

matron becomes the regal dowager as the cheeks grow smooth, the nose delicate, the expression gracious and benign.

It should, on this basis, be profitable to reexamine all the portraits that have been associated with the name of Arsinoe II. After the coins, the next class of labelled portraits are the faience jugs that bear the inscription: Ἀγαθῆς Τύχης Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου. The finest example is in the British Museum.⁵⁸ It shows the queen pouring a libation before an altar. In her left hand she carries a double cornucopia, the δίκερας, which was created by Ptolemy II especially to be held by representations of the deified Arsinoe⁵⁹ (cf. the coin type fig. 3a). The modelling is dull, but it is clear that the queen wears her hair in the melon coiffure that is usual on the coins and that her eye is large, her nose long and pointed and her mouth pursed. This gives an excellent check for our conception of the appearance of the queen.

It should now be possible to identify fragmentary faience jugs and other faience portraits, but the problem is complex and cannot be discussed here.⁶⁰

The only other labelled portrait of Arsinoe is on a gem in the Thorwaldsen Collection in Copenhagen.⁶¹ This shows the jugate heads of Ptolemy and Arsinoe inscribed: ΑΔΕΛΦ[ΩΝ]. The type has obviously been taken from the coins and resembles them closely—too closely, in fact, to be entirely credible.⁶² In any case, since it is uncertain just when the gem was copied from the coins, it becomes useless as evidence in our study. Furtwängler has also suggested the identification of two other gems as Arsinoe II. Of these, one in Boston,⁶³ showing the queen wearing a diadem, but

in front of a goat, which may represent Mendes; E. Pagenstecher, *Exped. Ernst von Sieglin II*, 3, pp. 119f. Rostovtzeff suggests, *op.cit.* I, 270 that a fragment in the Louvre may represent Arsinoe; cf. D. K. Hill, *RA* 43-44 (1954) 44f., fig. 1. The most convincing of the faience heads is that published by R. Hinks, "A Portrait of a Ptolemaic Queen," *JHS* 48 (1928) 239ff., which certainly seems correctly identified as Arsinoe; cf. Rostovtzeff, *op.cit.* I, 270. I hope to publish two faience heads, in the Walters Art Gallery and in the Princeton Art Museum, in a later article discussing the whole class of faience portraits.

⁶¹ A. Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen* 157, pl. xxxii, 10. I have not examined this gem.

⁶² E.g. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Ptol.*, pl. vii, 1. The shield behind the head, frequent on the coins, is a strange emblem for a gem.

⁶³ A.G., 159, pl. xxxii, 36; Macurdy, *op.cit.* fig. 4a. Cf. our fig. 3. Hinks, *JHS* 48 (1928) 242, note 21 appears to approve this identification. Cf. Adriani, *BSRAA* 10 (1928) 95.

no veil, is certainly like the deified heads on the coins, from which it may well have derived the type. The other gem seems to me to be too late in style and in character to be Arsinoe.⁶⁴

Several scholars have identified the famous cameos in Vienna and Leningrad as representing Ptolemy II and Arsinoe.⁶⁵ Adriani is willing to accept these as very idealized representations.⁶⁶ They certainly do not affect in any way the interpretation of the Sisilianos head.

Various pieces of sculpture in the round have, on grounds of resemblance to these authenticated portraits, been identified as Arsinoe. Their claims cannot be fully discussed without examination of the originals, which is beyond the scope of this paper. It may prove useful to further study to list here those of the best-known identifications, with comments.

1. *Antoniadis Head*. Museum of Alexandria. (pl. 55, figs. 7, 8) This beautiful piece, appreciated by Adriani and Rostovtzeff,⁶⁷ but otherwise rather neglected, bears a sufficiently close resemblance to the Sisilianos head to make the identification credible. The contour of the head and the several features are remarkably similar, but the eyes are not quite so large. That the hair is worn in melon coiffure, as on all other labelled portraits of the queen, but not on the Sisilianos head, and the fact that only the diadem and uraeus (?) appear suggest that this is a portrait, however idealized, of the queen during her reign, 275-270 B.C.

2. *Soli Head*. This head is closely related to the Antoniadis head, although it is not quite so fine a work.⁶⁸ Westholm draws attention to the close similarity between this head and the coins of Arsinoe: "we note the same, somewhat rounded forehead; the long, oval face, the long nose which ends with a small tip in a characteristic way . . . the chin is also characteristic; in profile it occurs on the coins as somewhat protruding but flattened." But Westholm, despite this resemblance, refuses to claim certainty for any such identification. "Under the influence," he warns us,⁶⁹ "of actual portraits

⁶⁴ A.G. pl. XXXII, 30.

⁶⁵ *ibid.* pl. LIII; cf. *JHS* 48 (1928) 242, note 21.

⁶⁶ Adriani, *op.cit.* 80, note 3; 94, note 3.

⁶⁷ Best published by A. Adriani, "Sculture del museo greco-romano," *BSRAA* 10 (1938) 90ff.; Parian marble. Height, 0.24 m. Our figs. 7-8 from Adriani's pls. VII, IX.; Rostovtzeff, *Econ. Hist.* I, 40, pl. VI accepts this identification as highly plausible.

⁶⁸ Westholm, *Temples of Soli*, 106f., No. 438 and 190f. "White marble." Height, 0.227 m. Westholm identifies the head as from a statue of Aphrodite, despite the likeness to Ar-

of members of the royal family a special type of portrait developed. . . . Not only the various coiffures but also, to a certain degree, the type of face and the expression in general followed the royal portraiture." To me, this close identity of features, particularly in the round eyes, with the upper lids overlapping the lower, an Alexandrian earmark, seems sufficiently strong to incline me to accept this head as a portrait of the queen. The royal diadem, but no divine emblems, are again more suitable to the queen than to a goddess. The head may well belong to the queen's lifetime, when Egyptian influence was strong in Cyprus.

3. *Bronze Statuette*. British Museum. This small bronze figure of a queen holding a cornucopia might well be the queen,⁷⁰ but the style, as Adriani rightly says, is so "brutta" that it has no value to us.

4. *Archelaos Relief: Oikoumene*. British Museum. Dickins' hypothesis⁷¹ that the Oikoumene on this relief represents Arsinoe II has been discarded; scholars now date the relief at least in the second century B.C. and name the queen Arsinoe III.⁷²

5. *Cypriote Heads*. British Museum. Pryce identified a series of heads from Cyprus as Arsinoe II.⁷³ Westholm very properly questions his assurance and prefers to consider that they all merely copy the royal features. None of those which Pryce names Arsinoe bears any resemblance to the Sisilianos head. Another, however, called Berenice I by Pryce⁷⁴ certainly resembles Arsinoe in the oval face, large round eyes, "goitrous neck and sinuous mouth." The hair is rendered, like that on our head, in rippled strands. But it is of course a question how closely Arsinoe resembled her mother. It seems very possibly a portrait of one or the other of them.

6. *Head in Musée Guimet, Paris*. This head, suggested by Charbonneau as a portrait of Arsinoe II⁷⁵ seems doubtful to me, especially on the ground of the peculiar curls.

7. *Tyskiewicz Head*. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. I owe this reference to Professor Sjöqvist.

⁶⁹ *ibid.* 190, note 21.

⁷⁰ C. C. Edgar, *JHS* 26 (1906) 281ff., pl. XVIII; Adriani, *op.cit.* 94.

⁷¹ G. Dickins, *JHS* 34 (1914) 301f.; Adriani, *op.cit.* 95.

⁷² Bibliography in M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (New York 1955) 127ff., 100, fig. 404.

⁷³ F. N. Pryce, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the British Museum* I ii, C 347, C 371, C 388-9.

⁷⁴ *ibid.* C 345, fig. 186. Limestone. Height, 0.17 m.

⁷⁵ *MonPiot* 47 (1953) 121, pl. x. Height, 0.215 m.

ton.⁷⁶ This delicate bronze head bears, in its profile and long nose, a decided resemblance to the coins of the deified Arsinoe II, as was noted long ago by Edward Robinson.⁷⁷ The narrow eyes and the mouth, however, are sufficiently different from the iconographical type about which we now feel certain, that it seems wise to regard the identification with doubt.⁷⁸ The style seems later than that of the queen's life-time.

In conclusion, we must admit that even having a certain portrait of Arsinoe II does not make it possible to be dogmatic about all heads that re-

semble ours. The nature of Greek sculpture, which never concentrated on factual realism, makes the problems of identification still difficult. But we have come a little closer, in the Sisilianos head, to the more charming aspect of that extraordinary woman, Arsinoe Philadelphos. We catch a glimpse of the large, flashing eyes, the long arrogant nose, the sensuous mouth, the imperious chin. We see almost face to face the beauty and the force of personality that did much to make Ptolemaic Egypt great.

PRINCETON, N.J.

⁷⁶ L. D. Caskey, *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Cambridge 1925) 118ff.

⁷⁷ *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Annual Report* 2 (1896) 26.

⁷⁸ Rostovtzeff, *op.cit.*, I, 40, notes that Adriani, *op.cit.* does

not list the Tyskiewicz head among the portraits of Arsinoe II. Macurdy accepts it. I. Nosh, *The Arts in Ptolemaic Egypt* (London 1937) 94, doubts it. A. E. Lawrence, *JEA* 11 (1925) 186, does not consider it as a queen's head.

Sculpture from Arabia Felix

The Hellenistic Period*

BERTA SEGALL

PLATES 56-61

"Les fouilles encore timides de l'Arabie du sud font surgir peu à peu des bronzes du style grec dont il faut tenir compte," wrote Miss Claire Préaux in 1952.¹ She and other scholars, for instance Rostovtzeff, were of the opinion that the strongly Hellenizing sculpture which from time to time had turned up in South Arabia proved a far-reaching Hellenization of South Arabian civilization in the last centuries before Christ. In the meantime, the excavations of the American Foundation for the Study of Man² have not only enriched the material with some remarkable pieces, but they have also enlarged appreciably the general knowledge of South Arabian civilization in these and earlier centuries, so that Arabia's art and its relationship to the arts of its neighbours can be seen in better perspective. It appeared that the Hellenizing sculpture as well as the earlier arts with strong non-Arabian traits were not the outcome of profound changes in South Arabian civilization, but were the result of Arabia's economic organization. While her peasants stayed home, living the extremely conservative, slow-moving life of most peripheral civilizations far removed from the centres of history, her traders were in regular and seldom interrupted contact with these centres. Accordingly, we find two main groups of art of very distinct style but developing simultaneously: the ancestral images, mostly from the cemeteries and executed in the various beautiful native stones, which preserve very early stylistic traits to the end of antiquity; and a more rapidly

progressing art, found in the houses and the temples, which shows such a variety of combinations of non-Arabic and Arabic traits that every piece has to be investigated on its own terms; its history reflects the history of pre-Islamic South Arabian commerce, a long development of trade relations along the overland caravan roads and across the seas (Ill. A).

The Arabian peninsula is ideally located for the kind of economy that its industrious population actually developed; it formed a bridge between India and Egypt on the one hand, and between these two countries and the Western Semitic peoples on the other. Later, the trade expanded to include the Mediterranean and finally, Italy. The Arabian trade was export as well as transit trade, mainly in aromatics and spices. The known data about it have often been stated; therefore, one need only recall them here in their barest outline as background for the sculpture to be discussed.³

As a rule, foreigners did not visit the country, but the Arabian traders travelled wide and far; inscriptions in their alphabet have been found in Memphis, in Delos, in Mesopotamia; but there is only one indication, and that not entirely convincing, that a Greek trader travelled in the interior of South Arabia, far from the coast. It is a much damaged early Ptolemaic inscription in the Egyptian desert temple of Redesiye between Edfu and Berenice, dedicated by a certain Zenodotus who had returned from the country of the Sabaean.⁴

* I wish to thank Professor W. F. Albright, who read the manuscript of this article and made valuable suggestions, for encouragement and guidance in an unfamiliar field.

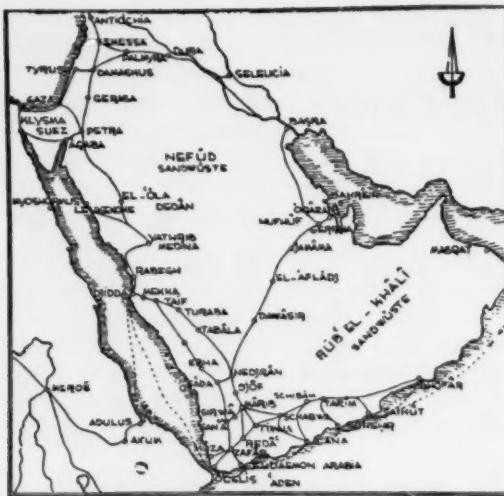
¹ *ChronEg* 27 (1952) 281, with note 1, on the bronzes from Yemen in the British Museum. M. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* II, 855 and text to pl. 96.

² The American Foundation for the Study of Man, led by Wendell Phillips, excavated at Timna, ancient Qataban, in 1950 and 1951, with W. F. Albright as chief archaeologist and in Marib, Yemen (1952) and Dhofar (1953) with Frank P. Albright as chief archaeologist. The material from Timna was divided between the Aden Museum and the American Foundation. The objects brought to this country were at first deposited in the Carnegie Museum in Pittsburgh. Early in 1953 they were transferred to the Johns Hopkins University to be studied for the Arabian Publication Project under W. F. Al-

bright. The project is sponsored by the A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust and the Sarah Mellon Scaife Foundation. At present ca. 100 of the most important pieces, sculpture, inscription etc. are in New York for exhibition purposes.

³ Classical sources collected in H. Kortenbeutel, *Der ägyptische Süd- und Osthandel in der Politik der Ptolemäer und römischen Kaiser* (Berlin Dissertation 1931). Classical and Arabic sources in Adolf Grohmann, *Südarabien als Wirtschaftsgebiet* II, *Schriften der Philosophischen Fakultät der Deutschen Universität in Prag* 13 (1933) 101ff. Literature to 1938 in M. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, index s.v. Arabia, Mineans, Sabaean etc., also Vol. III, 149ff.

⁴ W. Schwarz, "Die Inschriften des Wüstentempels von Redesiye," *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik* 153 (1896) 157.



Map of South Arabia showing Caravan Roads. From *Jahrbuch für Kleinasiatische Forschung*, I (1950).

There is, to my knowledge, no indication that the Arab traders were not respected and welcome wherever they arrived, nor that the Greeks ever looked at their country as that of a backward civilization. Quite the contrary is true. The inaccessible country where incense and myrrh grew became a land of a thousand wonders for the Greeks, a land of fabulous wealth and beauty, from which the perfume of incense wafted out into the sea; finally it became the land where the phoenix lived between appearances in Egypt, where Isis and Osiris were born and were buried, and where Dionysos himself was raised.⁵ In fact, Dionysos was connected by the Greeks with Arabia from the time of Herodotus till far into the Roman period. The new material here discussed helps to show that it was not a specific North Arabian god that was meant, but that the Greeks thought of this god as the great deity of Arabia Felix.⁶

Quite characteristically, the Greek writers mingled some hard facts with the mythological tales. They were informed about the coast line of the country and knew something about the main cities on the caravan roads in the interior. They also had a certain knowledge of the harvesting of the costly

⁵ Phoenix: Herod. 2.73. Isis and Osiris buried in Arabia: Diod. 1.27.3. Osiris raised in Arabia: Diod. 1.15.6. Dionysos raised in A.: Diod. 3.64.6. Dionysos born in A.: Diod. 3.66.3. Attack upon Dionysos by Lycurgus in Arabia, not in Thrace: Diod. 3.65.7.

⁶ D. Nielsen, *Handbuch der Altarabischen Altertumskunde* I (Kopenhagen 1927) 182f.

⁷ V. Wissmann and Höfner, "Beiträge zur historischen Geographie des vorislamischen Südarabien," *AbhMainz* (1952) 2,

incense "which burnt on every altar" and of the rigid organization of the trade which moved it from city to city.

It seems that the trade of South Arabia was highly organized from a very early period under the protection of the native gods and the administration of their priests along overland roads which connected the cities with each other and with the world outside. Strabo describes very old institutions, probably established in the beginning of the first millennium B.C. when he says (16.4.19): "Those cities which are close to one another receive in continuous succession the loads of aromatics and deliver them to their next door neighbors, as far as Syria and Mesopotamia. . ." Pliny (N. H. 12.30ff.) has a long and fascinating account of the harvesting and shipping of Arabian incense: "After being collected, it is conveyed to Sabota on camels, one of the gates of the city being opened for admission. The kings have made it a capital offence to turn aside (from the city)." Then he continues: "At Sabota a tithe estimated by measure and not by weight is taken by the priests for the god they call Sabis, and the incense is not allowed to be put on the market until this has been done. This tithe is drawn on to defray what is a public expenditure, for actually on a fixed number of days the god graciously entertains guests at a banquet."⁷ In addition, there is more tariff to pay before the aromatics reach the outside market: "(The incense) can only be exported through the country of the Gebanitae, and accordingly a tax is paid on it to the king of that people as well. Their capital is Thomna, which is 1487 miles distant from the town of Gaza in Judaea on the Mediterranean coast; the journey is divided into 65 stages with halts for camels. Fixed portions of the frankincense are also given to the priests and the king's secretaries, but beside these the guards and their attendants and the gate keepers and servants also have their pickings: indeed all along the route they keep paying, at one place for water, at another for fodder, or the charges for lodging at the halts; so that expenses mount to 688 denarii before the Mediterranean coast is reached."

p. 112 translate: "Dort empfangen die Priester für den Gott, welchen sie Sabin nennen, den zehnten Teil dem Mass, nicht dem Gewicht nach; eher darf nichts davon verkauft werden. Von jenem Anteil werden die öffentlichen Kosten bestritten, denn der Gott erhält die Fremden eine gewisse Anzahl Tage-reisen hindurch." In this case, the traders would not be guests of the god, but would pay with their own ware.

The famous route of which Pliny speaks, the Incense Road, was, of course, not a paved highway which we can recover. The road must have followed shifting tracks, known only to the natives and kept secret from intruders. The expedition of Aelius Gallus would not have come to grief if it had not been comparatively easy to deceive even an official of the Roman Emperor and lead him astray. (Strabo, 16. 22ff.) Nothing describes the conditions of communication in Arabia better than Strabo's account: "(Gallus) was deceived by the Nabataean administrator, Syllaeus, who . . . misguided him through places that had no roads and by circuitous routes and through regions destitute of everything, or along rocky shores that had no harbours. . . . And yet camel traders travel back and forth . . . in safety and ease, and in such numbers of men and camels that they differ in no respect from an army." (Translations Loeb Classical Library.)

Before Aelius Gallus, Alexander the Great had tried in vain to conquer the districts of the Incense Road. After his death much of the political strife among the new kingdoms centred around the struggle for the northernmost parts of the roads in Palestine and Syria, until the later Ptolemies tried to transfer the bulk of the overland trade to the maritime trade along the shores of the Red Sea.

How is this situation reflected in the new material from South Arabia? The American Foundation for the Study of Man excavated three sites: Marib, capital of ancient Saba; Timna, Pliny's Thomna, capital of ancient Qataban; and Oman in the actual incense country. The material here discussed comes mostly from the houses of Timna, whose fame and prosperity is still echoed in Pliny years after its destruction by its neighbours. What Strabo tells about the wealth of the Sabaean cities of his time has to a certain extent been confirmed in the case of Timna (16.4.19): "Both their king and those about him live in great luxury. The masses engage partly in farming and partly in the traffic in aromatics, both the local kind and those from Ethiopia. From their trafficking they have become very rich. They have a vast equipment of both gold and silver articles and very costly houses." Gold and silver objects were not found, but costly houses built of carefully worked masonry did turn up and in them the remains of home furnishings and sculpture which greatly clarify the picture of

Southern trade in the Hellenistic period, so far reconstructed mainly from the records in the north.

The site of Timna was identified by the Englishman, Bury, and the Austrian, Rhodokanakis, from inscriptions on its South Gate as the present Hajar Kohlan, a then almost untouched *tell* in the valley of the Beihan River, "situated at the northern end of the Western Aden Protectorate in a kind of bay partly surrounded by Yemen."⁸ What was known about the site up to 1938 has been collected by A. Grohmann in his article "Thumna" in *RE* 11, col. 631. Since then H. v. Wissmann and M. Höfner have reconsidered the evidence.⁹

The American expedition found a large oval mound of about 60 acres still surrounded by the ancient wall with its South Gate. In two campaigns only the uppermost layer could be investigated, and that only in a few places. The early history of the city had to be left buried beneath débris which is in part 30 feet or more in depth. The excavators cleared an area with private houses near the South Gate and a large public building farther north which seems to be a temple. In addition, the city's cemetery outside the city walls was excavated.¹⁰

All excavated areas inside the city walls were covered with deep deposits of ashes, the sign of sudden destruction by fire. Fortunately the approximate date of the destruction can be determined. Sealed below the ashes were found a few small fragments of Arretine sherds. They are at present being studied by Professor Howard Comfort who prefers an *ante-quem* date of about A.D. 20 for them.

The sculpture from Timna is, therefore, the first discovered in South Arabia with an *ante-quem* date. Moreover, the very fact that its context is known and that, as a whole, it forms a homogeneous group of a single provenience distinguishes it from the chance finds which had been drifting into museums since the country was opened up to modern investigation in the 19th century. It will be seen in its true perspective, however, only after it has been correlated with the material from the two other excavations, namely the earlier objects from Marib and the later ones from Oman. Even then the picture will be far from complete, but a dim outline of its development, of the shifting emphasis in foreign inspirations and of the missing links still existing in the history of non-Arabian sculpture which can be expected from the new area will be-

⁸ W. F. Albright, *BASOR* 119 (1950) 3.

⁹ *op.cit.* 49ff.

¹⁰ W. F. Albright, *BASOR* 119 (1950) 5ff. Gus Van Beek,

BiblArch 15 (1952) 2ff. A. Jamme, *Oriente Moderno* 32 (1953) 133ff.

gin to emerge. As a start it is best to begin with the material from the last centuries of Timna's existence because it assimilates styles which are comparatively well known.

Perhaps the most spectacular and certainly the historically most important find was made in the first campaign at the foot of the south wall of a patrician house across a small square from the South Gate. In a layer of ashes in the débris from the house were found two large bronze lions with infant riders, cast with identical South Arabian inscriptions on a narrow base (pl. 56, figs. 1, 2). According to Albright's convincing interpretation, they had fallen there from a roof terrace when the house collapsed in the fire. The inscriptions give the names of two owners of the house, father and son, from the clan of the "craftsmen," who are known from other inscriptions found *in situ* in the walls of the house in connection with the name of the late Qatabanian King, Shahr Yagil Yuhargib.¹¹ This was the first instance in the history of South Arabian exploration which made it possible to date a pre-Islamic South-Arabian ruler in terms of non-Arabian history and the first step towards an absolute chronology. According to the present stage of discussion, Albright dates the lions ca. 75-50 B.C.

The composition of the groups is completely symmetrical and frontal; it is reasonable to suppose that they were set up facing each other across a central object, perhaps an altar. The riders are reining in the lions by means of a chain which passes around the lions' necks, and in the right hand there was a *kentron* or a *thrysos*, of which only the pointed lower part was preserved when the lions were found. The groups were broken in shipment to this country and somewhat unhappily restored since.

The groups were meant to be seen against a background; they are reliefs, with only the infants cast in the round. The reverse sides of the lions are hollow, and the hooks for attachment are still preserved. The background was of some perishable material, presumably wood. Pieces of charred wood are still deeply embedded in the lions' mouths and over their entire surface.

Yet the two groups are not exactly alike; each infant and each animal is cast from a different mould. The animal found nearer the western cor-

ner of the building is a lioness, the one found to the east, a male. Of the riders, the infant found to the west is somewhat somber, the one found to the east is smiling.

The groups are comparatively large. The bases are 52 cm. long, the overall height of each group is 61 cm. Not many ancient bronzes of this size are preserved, and, to my knowledge, none represents this widespread subject that occurs all over the ancient world in the minor arts or on mosaics. There is, however, reason to believe that the Timna lions are adaptations of famous large groups in the round. Where can the prototypes be sought?

There were in antiquity apparently several pictorial cycles depicting divinities riding on mythical animals; some of these were in sculpture, others in painting and mosaic. Since the date of the Timna lions is not too far removed from the South-Arabian inscription found in Delos, it must have occurred to several scholars to connect them with the divine riders on Delian mosaics which the merchants who dedicated the inscription may very well have seen. Thus, the inspiration may have come from Delos or from Hellenized Syria, to whose artisans some of these mosaics are ascribed.¹² However, the Delos mosaics seem to be the outcome of a tradition, still to be traced, which is different from that of the Timna lions. The Timna groups preserve traces of their origin quite plainly in the style of the faces of the infant riders, and especially in that of the smiling child set up on the east of the group (pl. 57, fig. 3). The type of the smiling child may or may not have been an achievement of Attic art of the 4th century B.C. as some archaeologists maintain,¹³ but it became popular only in the Hellenistic period with the victory of the Alexandrian gods and of the child Horus-Harpocrates. He is the smiling child *par excellence*,¹⁴ and it is from his image that the smiling infant from Timna was directly adapted. There are many types of smiling children in Alexandrian art, and especially in the early period there are masterpieces of high quality and great individuality, such as the marble head in the Alexandria Museum (pl. 57, fig. 4) or the silver statuette from Alexandria found with coins of Ptolemy III.¹⁵ But the figure of Harpocrates, sometimes identified with the infant Dionysos, became stereotyped at an early period, and the frozen mask-

¹¹ W. F. Albright, *BASOR* 119 (1950) 6.

¹² Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* II, 798 and pl. 89 with text.

¹³ E. A. Gardner, *JHS* 11 (1890) 100ff.

¹⁴ E. Norden, *Die Geburt des Kindes, Studien der Bibliothek*

Warburg III (Leipzig 1924) 59.

¹⁵ A. W. Lawrence, *Later Greek Sculpture*, pl. 22a. I owe the photograph reproduced (pl. 57, fig. 4) to the kindness of Mr. P. Girgi of the Alexandria Museum. Silver statuette *JHS* (1885) pl. A.

like smile which also characterizes the Timna child, became its characteristic trait. Stylistically the Timna bronze must be placed between the terracotta Harpokrates from the Alexandrian necropolis of Hadra¹⁶ (pl. 57, fig. 5) and the large plaster mould in the Cairo Museum, which is presumably Augustan (pl. 57, fig. 6).¹⁷

The possibility that the entire group was fashioned from an Alexandrian prototype cannot be ruled out. The groups of the youthful divine riders from the Serapeum in Memphis come immediately to mind,¹⁸ yet they are different in style. But the bronze find from Galyub in Egypt which preserves types of early Alexandrian monumental sculpture in miniature scale, has a chubby baby rider who has lost his animal,¹⁹ and a well preserved miniature example of a whole group of a baby rider on a panther, which seems to come from the Galyub workshop, was found in Dodona and was formerly in the Berlin Museum.

Adaptations of such groups on a scale sufficiently large to be used in houses or in private sanctuaries must have been popular in the Hellenistic period. A panther which formed part of a group of this kind was found among the remains of an ancient shipwreck off the southern coast of France. It has the exact dimensions of the Timna lions, and a hole in its back indicates that a rider was once attached to it.²⁰

Were these groups, then, shipped from a central workshop, and were the Timna lions imported from such a workshop, Arabian inscriptions and all?

The presence of the inscription does not rule out this possibility. Pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions were dedicated and manufactured outside Arabia. The best known is perhaps the inscription on a wooden sarcophagus, now in the Cairo Museum, of an Arab trader who had become priest of Sarapis and who had died in Egypt on one of his journeys in the reign of one Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy.²¹ Even more instructive is "une sorte de cippe en pierre" from Delos with an Arabian and a Greek dedication to an Arabian god.²² Apparently the mason, most likely a Greek from Delos, knew how to

¹⁶ E. Breccia, *Terrecotte figurate del Museo di Alessandria, Monuments de l'Egypte Gréco-Romain II*, pt. 1, no. 261, p. 5, pl. XVI.

¹⁷ Edgar, *Greek Moulds*, no. 32023, pl. XXVI.

¹⁸ U. Wilcken, *Jdl* 32 (1917) 149ff.

¹⁹ A. Ippel, *Der Bronzefund von Galjub* (Berlin 1922) no. 47, pl. v. *AA* 37 (1932) col. 82, fig. 34.

²⁰ MonPiot 46 (1952) pl. ix. Compare *RA* (1892) pl. 23.

²¹ N. Rhodokanakis, *Zeitschrift für Semitistik* II (1923) 113ff.

handle both alphabets. The most likely solution would be to assume that moulds like the one in fig. 6 were received by the Arab traders in Egypt as barter for their goods and that the lions were cast in Timna from such moulds to which only the inscription on the base was added.

There is, however, one further possibility which I would like to mention and which is based on a find made in the South Gate area of Timna from which the lions come. This is a model alphabet carefully incised in an oval tablet of baked clay. The tablet has a hole at one end, evidently for suspension, and it is tempting to think that it was hung on the wall of a workshop in Timna, like the models for casting hung on the wall of such a shop as represented on a red-figured vase formerly in the Berlin Museum.²³ One could assume that a wandering coppersmith who carried with him Alexandrian moulds, or small-scale models, cast the lions in Timna, and that the inscription was prepared for him by his clients from a model alphabet like the one that was actually recovered.²⁴

Much more difficult to answer is the question why such groups were ordered at all by the two owners of the house whose names are mentioned on the base, and what function they could have fulfilled on the roof terrace. The meaning of the groups outside Arabia is clear; the motif has been frequently investigated and the evidence of its context is unequivocal. They are part of the Dionysiac cycle; in fact, they are often part of Dionysiac processions.²⁵ On a stucco relief of the Imperial period the meaning of the scene is confirmed by an inscription: LIBER PATER CONSACRATUS.²⁶ But what trend of Hellenistic syncretism brought the motif to South Arabia? Answers can only be tentative at this point. Since the smiling infant is fashioned after the type of an Alexandrian Horus-Harpokrates, the rising sun, and the lions are solar animals,²⁷ a passage in Strabo (16.4.26) about the Nabataeans comes to mind. "They worship the sun," he says, "building an altar on the top of the house, and pouring libations on it daily and burning frankincense." The borrowing of the image from the Dionysiac cycle could in this case be ex-

²² Clermont-Ganneau, *CRAI* (1908) 546ff.

²³ Illustrated, e.g., in Buschor, *Griechische Vasenmalerei* (Munich 1913) fig. 122.

²⁴ A. M. Honeyman, *Africa* 22 (1952) 136ff.

²⁵ Walter Leonhard, *Mosaikstudien zur Casa del Fauno in Pompeji* (Naples 1914) 22ff.

²⁶ *NS* (1928) 161, fig. 20. Ch. Picard, *RA* 41 (1953) 108ff.

²⁷ Represented with solar rays: *AJA* 49 (1945) 441ff.

plained by the fact that in the Alexandrian cults Horus and his father Osiris-Dionysos were interchangeable,²⁸ the son being often invested with the power of the father, and the groups could be interpreted as Hellenized images of the rising and the setting sun. South Arabian mythological concepts did differentiate between the rising and the setting sun,²⁹ but the Qatabanian solar deity was a goddess, and the adoption of her attributes by the male lord of the heavens would apparently be another foreign intrusion in Timna. The question of interpretation, then, remains open until further material turns up.

Another Hellenistic bronze (pl. 58, figs. 7, 8, 9) from Timna will possibly help to throw some light on the problem of the lion riders. This bronze, much smaller in scale—it is only 15 cm. high—was found in Timna by local diggers after the expedition had left and could later fortunately be acquired for the Foundation. It comes possibly from one of the rich Hellenistic houses near the South Gate which the expedition had no time to excavate. This bronze is clearly an import. Preserved is the half figure of a winged deity, bearded and moustached, and wearing a pointed cap. The face fits admirably the description which Perdrizet gave of some of the bronzes of the Fouquet collection, which are, however, of later date:³⁰ "Ces larges joues, cette barbe luxuriante, cette bouche entr'ouverte par une respiration qu'on divine égale et puissante, tous ces traits forment un type d'une beauté singulière. On se sent remué devant ce visage sacré, où le Paganisme s'est peint tout entier. Pour qui voudrait montrer ce qu'il y a eu de grandiose dans l'art hellénistique, avec quelle profondeur de sentiment et en même temps avec quel goût dans la stylisation cet art a su exprimer le Divin, tel qu'on le concevait alors, ce type serait un exemple instructif. . . . Sans doute, l'art hellénistique n'a pas inventé le type, c'était un legs de l'archaïsme, mais comme il l'a transformé! Il a animé la rigidité archaïque, il lui a insufflé une vie surhumaine."

The figure is heavily coated with incrustation, and only thorough cleaning will reveal details. The long-sleeved tunic, belted at the hips, that the figure seems to be wearing and the Phrygian cap

are characteristic for statuettes of Dionysos—Sabazios of the Roman period. But the statuette from Timna is clearly Hellenistic, and the cap seems to terminate in a bird's head and thus to approach certain types of the Thracian helmet that are difficult to distinguish from Phrygian cap or Persian tiara.³¹ Moreover, the figure is winged and, to my knowledge, no other piece of sculpture in the round of this type is known. But similar figures have appeared in relief and in the Timna statuette South Arabia has given us a missing link in a mythological context which became important in Graeco-Roman and apparently also in South Arabian syncretism.

The bearded winged deity appeared in Greek art in the archaic period as master of animals.³² Later, he reappeared, often in ornamental contexts, in which also a female deity was represented. No inscription helps to interpret these compositions, but they tell an interesting story even without such guidance. The goddess, with or without wings, is represented between animals as lady of the wild things or as lady of vegetation among tendrils. Her animals are often the Achaemenid horned lions (pl. 59, fig. 10)—and this alone would assure her relationship to Rhea-Kybele.³³ In one case she is represented between bulls; this rare composition occurs on a capital from Salamis in Cyprus, now in the British Museum (pl. 59, fig. 11).³⁴

The male deity with upturned wings is best known from the ornamental reliefs on a series of marble thrones which were recently restudied by Gisela Richter.³⁵ They are replicas of a prototype which show the archaic, bearded and winged god, wearing the polos, as a half figure growing out of ornamental foliage and flanked by griffins. In one case, however, on a Hellenistic acroterion from South Russia,³⁶ the god is wearing the pointed cap, surmounted by a rosette, and he is flanked by the horned lions which in other contexts had belonged to the goddess (pl. 59, fig. 12). It seems, then, that god or goddess may rule not only over the animals usually connected with their myth, but also over the animals connected with the myth of their mate: the god over the lions, the goddess over the bulls.

²⁸ G. Lafaye, *Histoire du culte des divinités d'Alexandrie hors de l'Egypte, Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* 33 (1884) pp. 5f.

²⁹ G. Ryckmans, "Les religions préislamiques" in *L'Histoire général des religions*, 330.

³⁰ P. Perdrizet, *Bronzes Grecs d'Egypte de la collection Fouquet* (Paris 1911) 12f., Roscher, *Lexicon*, s.v. Sabazios, figs. 4, 7.

³¹ B. Schroeder, "Thrakische Helme," *Jdl* 27 (1912) 317ff.

³² R. M. Dawkins, *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia* (London 1929) pl. 99, 1 and 2 and pl. 160, 2. Langlotz, *Die Antike* 8 (1932) p. 177, fig. 12.

³³ *PBSR* 18 (1950) 3ff., pl. II, 1. *BSRAA* 32 (1938) pl. 1.

³⁴ *BM Cat. of Sculpture* II, no. 1510, pl. 27, *RA* 40 (1952) 81, fig. 3.

³⁵ *AJA* 58 (1954) 271ff.

³⁶ Möbius, *AM* 51 (1926) pl. 19.

Who is this god? He has often been called Dionysos or Dionysos-Sabazios,³⁷ and a good case can be made out for this interpretation, because winged figures did exist in Dionysiac contexts. On a Delian mosaic the youthful god himself is winged,³⁸ and among Alexandrian bronzes are figures of a winged Seilenos, which presuppose a winged Dionysos.³⁹ It is interesting to note that the Alexandrian bronzes were used as supports for incense altars.⁴⁰ It was, then, the winged Dionysos who was connected in Alexandrian imagination with the incense country and its mythical Nysa.⁴¹

The Timna statuette suggests very strongly that the Arabs, too, must have had a part in this bridging of mythological concepts, and that it was with the help of their reports that the Greeks identified the Arabian gods with gods from their own pantheon. Herodotus says (3.8) that the Arabs knew only two gods, Dionysos and Urania; Arrian that Alexander the Great was told that the Arabian gods were Dionysos and Uranos (*Anabasis* 20.1) and in Strabo (16.741) the two gods are Dionysos and Zeus. The form of the wings of the Timna statuette suggests perhaps an answer.

The wings of the Timna statuette were doubtless once the large upturned wings of the Greek reliefs. Today they are broken off, but the remains are completely alike, and the effect is so symmetrical that it looks as if they had been cut off on purpose (pl. 58, fig. 9). They resemble now the short wings often given to the youthful moon-god Men, the young counterpart of Sabazios, who in the dedicatory reliefs shares almost all his symbols and therefore certainly a part of his realm. Men was expressly identified with him as Dionysos. An inscription on a small altar found in a temple on the southern coast of the island of Thasos dedicates the altar to Men Tyrannos Dionysos;⁴² the moon-god is here, and doubtless in other cases, the lord Dionysos. The identification in Arabia is now clear: Dionysos was one with the highest god of the South Arabians, their moon-god, not in his youthful form, however, but as the powerful, mature lord of the heavens, Sabazios.

It is tempting to connect the introduction of a

statuette of Sabazios into South Arabia with an event which helped to spread the cult of this god in the Hellenistic world. In 189 B.C. Eumenes II of Pergamon married the Cappadocian Princess Stratonice who brought the cult of this god from her home to Pergamon. The god became there so powerful and so popular that he received in 135 an official cult in the sanctuary of Athena and a member of the royal house was made his priest.⁴³ However, though it is difficult to judge the statuette in its present state, it seems to be earlier than the 2nd century B.C. The bearded face is not far removed from types of the fourth century, and if the cap really proves to be one of the Thracian "Prunkhelme," its shape, whose chronology was not long ago discussed by B. Schweitzer,⁴⁴ seems to conform to the pre-Pergamene types with the long uninterrupted lines, instead of the shorter and wider type depicted on a Pergamene relief.⁴⁵

That the Arabs did see their moon-god in the Hellenistic type of god with short wavy beard and long moustache is further confirmed by an engraved gem of the Imperial period, which was acquired by Major T. Altounian of London in Shabwa, South Arabia, and not long ago published by A. F. L. Beeston.⁴⁶ I wish to thank Major Altounian for the seal impression illustrated here (pl. 59, fig. 13). The bearded profile is repeated twice to the right and left of an unbearded face *en face*, and each profile is surmounted by a horn. In the field is the name *Thawrum*, "bull," a name of the moon-god.

Sabazios was not the only foreign god who found his way into South Arabia. The alabaster fragment (pl. 60, fig. 14) comes from the cemetery of Timna, one of the very few pieces of Hellenizing sculpture among the stereotyped ancestor images from the graves. They are fragments of a statuette of Isis; the fringed mantle and the ends of the Isis knot are still clearly discernible.⁴⁷ The type corresponds to one preserved in a bronze statuette in the Louvre,⁴⁸ and in the seated figure of the Tazza Farnese (pl. 60, fig. 15). The comparison with the cameo is especially instructive, because the material is similar and the process of stylization and linearization

³⁷ Curtius, *Idl* 43 (1928) 291ff.

³⁸ MonPiot 16 (1907) pl. xiv.

³⁹ J. Perdrizet, *Bronzes grecs d'Egypte*, 18ff., nos. 21f.

⁴⁰ *ibid.* pl. 40. ⁴¹ Diod. 1.15; 3.64f.

⁴² E. L. Hicks, *JHS* 8 (1887) 411f.

⁴³ H. Lietzmann, *Die Antike* 8 (1932) 262. E. V. Hansen, *The Attalids of Pergamon* (Ithaca N.Y. 1947) 401.

⁴⁴ *AbhSächsische* 43 (1936) no. 4, pp. 19ff.

⁴⁵ Schweitzer, *ibid.* fig. 38.

⁴⁶ *JRS* (1952) 22, pl. III.

⁴⁷ H. Schaefer, "Das Gewand der Isis," *Janus* 1 (1921), Lehmann-Haupt Festschrift, 194ff. F. W. v. Bissing, *Der Alte Orient* 34 (1936) 11ff. A. Ippel, *Der Bronzefund von Galjub* (Berlin 1922) to nos. 19, pl. II and 21, pl. IV.

⁴⁸ De Ridder, *Les bronzes antiques du Louvre* I, no. 793, pl. 54.

zation of the Greek model at the hands of the Arabic stone mason is particularly evident. The Louvre bronze is dated ca. 200 B.C. by R. Horn.⁴⁹ This can only be a *terminus post quem*. The Timna statuette will belong in the last century of Timna's existence.

As a last example of Hellenizing sculpture from Timna, I want to introduce a bronze portrait statue of a lady, Lady Bar'at, found in the ruins of her house with the inscribed stone base which served as her seat (pl. 61, figs. 16, 17). The inscription makes it possible to date the statue around 50 B.C. according to present chronology; it belongs to the generation following that of the bronze lions. The seated figure, ca. 50 cm. high, is represented in a strictly frontal pose which had long since been replaced in Hellenistic art by a more relaxed and also a more complicated position for seated figures. Yet the statue is not archaic. The artist had a sharp eye for the peculiarities of her type: stocky, very broad in the hips, and with a very short neck and large head. The face is a portrait, revealing intelligence and aristocratic bearing; the lady, probably the head of her clan, was a true "matriarch." The conventional Greek hairdress with diadem was taken over either from a coin or from a model which could have represented a seated goddess.

The figure wears the long straight tunic which

⁴⁹ R. Horn, *Stehende weibliche Gewandstatuen*, 85, note 6, pl. 30, 1.

was the native fashion, but which, in conventional South Arabian sculpture, is never represented with folds. The folds are applied to the surface in thin, sharp ridges in low relief, not dissimilar to the folds of the Isis statue. They represent an early stage in the stylization of drapery which became popular in Palmyrene art of a later period.

From the last half century of Timna's existence not much Hellenistic material was recovered. After the battle of Actium a few sherds from Italy begin to drift in, a sign of direct trade relations with the West, though this pottery may have come via Syria or Egypt. Soon afterwards Timna was destroyed by its eastern neighbours.

If excavations are continued, more Hellenistic and Hellenizing sculpture will very likely be found, but, judging from the present evidence, the amount would be small in comparison with products of native style. Foreign influence, though often present, seems to have been always superficial in South Arabian civilization, whose individuality and insularity was jealously guarded at all times. But the strong trends of Hellenistic religious syncretism did reach it; they must have worked here, as elsewhere, for the final breakdown of the ancient native cults.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
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Recent Finds at Hadrian's Tiburtine Villa

A. W. VAN BUREN

PLATES 62-63

THE unfailing generosity of Professor Salvatore Aurigemma makes it possible to present to our readers a brief account of the remarkable results that have been already accomplished through the series of campaigns which he has planned at Hadrian's Villa (*Vita Hadriani* XXVI, 5). The pages here offered are based on a visit to the Villa made in the early days of January 1955, in company with Professor Aurigemma, who explained his undertaking most fully, showed its first fruits, and then presented the series of photographs which are here reproduced (pls. 62-63, figs. 1-5). These had been taken under difficulties at an earlier stage of the restoration of the marbles, and in the interval which has elapsed since they were made it has been possible to carry considerably further the work of restoration and the attachment of various fragments.

As is well known, the Villa as a whole has for centuries been the scene of sporadic digging and discovery, which had enriched the museums of Europe with many remarkable works of art. The present program, however, is aimed at a systematic clearing of one definite area, the long valley at the southern end of the site to which the imperial patron accorded a diversified architectural treatment by means of lateral colonnades leading to a terminal half-dome and secondary structures. Its wealth of marbles had been known for centuries, and the Egyptian or Egyptianizing character of many of these had confirmed the identification of the valley as the Canopus. The striking features at the inner, southern end had earned the (not anciently attested) name of Serapeum.

The project is to clear this area completely of the earth and rubbish which had accumulated and consisted largely of infiltrations from the higher ground on each side; to recover all that still exists, after the depredations of past ages, of the details of the architecture and also of the works of statuary which were once exhibited in this noble setting; and eventually to reerect as much as may prove practicable of the fragmentary remains, in order to

restore to the ensemble its ancient function and aspect. When all this shall have been accomplished, the visitor will be in a position to enjoy to some extent the aesthetic satisfaction that had been the intention of the emperor-builder.

The promising and thus far successful start toward the execution of this project has been made possible through the cooperation of several government departments, for the task is one of engineering as well as of archaeology. The removal of the deep, overlying masses of earth and rubbish in which no ancient remains could be expected to lie concealed, could be entrusted to teams of unskilled beginners in a "school" of manual labor, the succeeding phases of the undertaking awaiting the attention of the technical and scientific personnel. As a result, beginning in May 1951, a large part of the bottom of the valley has been cleared, starting from the inner, southern end in the neighborhood of the "Serapeum," and enough of the rich marble details of the eastern side of the valley has already been recovered to permit a theoretical reconstruction, and to induce the veteran Italo Gismondi to return to the scene of some of his former activities in reviving and interpreting the architectural achievements of the past.

During the campaign of 1952, the clearing of the middle stretch of the western platform resulted in the recovery of four figures of Caryatids, copies in Pentelic marble of four of the six figures of the south porch of the Erechtheum, and remains of the two colossal statues of Silenus carrying baskets full of fruit, and standing beside the row of maidens in the arrangement at the Canopus.

When the campaign of June and July 1954 had reached a point 121.40 meters distant from the southern end of the canal, it was discovered, contrary to what had generally been assumed, that the open area was terminated or enclosed here by means of a semi-circular base upon which marble columns stood supporting alternately a flat architrave, curving inward, and an arched architrave forming a niche. Each of these niches contained a statue in

antithetical arrangement: on the west side, an Amazon of the type attributed to Polyclitus (the Berlin-Copenhagen-Lansdowne type), a Hermes with caduceus, and a reclining river-god, identified as the Tiber by the presence of the Wolf and Twins; and then, corresponding to these, and continuing in inverse order on the east side of the hemicycle, a reclining Nile with sphinx, an Ares wearing an upturned helmet with waving crest, and a second Amazon, of the type assigned by some scholars to Phidias (Pliny, *N. H.* 34.53). The effect produced by all these marbles as commanded by the emperor, executed by some of the best craftsmen available at the time, and installed in their intended setting in the open air and sunshine, must have been most impressive.

Hadrian's taste, as was already known, inclined toward the great classical period of Greek Art of the fifth century before Christ, and in particular the schools of Athens and Argos. It is clear that he commissioned his sculptors to do their best in reproducing for his villa some of the outstanding creations of those schools and of that period. No one acquainted with the marbles now to be seen in Athens will be liable to mistake these copies for Greek originals—something of the fresh bloom and the inspiration of the great age has evaporated in the process, quite apart from the fact that the original Amazons, at least, were conceived in bronze. But the copyists' work was conscientious, their manual dexterity in fact prodigious, and the circumstance that certain essential details have been lost in other examples and are preserved and transmitted only in these present instances lends to these copies, fragmentary though they are in other respects, a distinct documentary value for historians of art.

The photographs here shown might almost be allowed to speak for themselves, but a few words of comment may prove helpful.

The three Caryatids of the present group of four, shown in pl. 62, fig. 1, are the best preserved copies so far found of the originals of the Erechtheum, which themselves in the lapse of time have suffered heavy loss in respect to their arms, drapery and accessories. The developments during the months after the taking of the photograph have included the reattachment of the paterae held by two of the maidens, a detail now entirely lacking at the Erechtheum; while the action of the free hand, in holding up the border of the garment, is more

clearly indicated on some of these copies than in the badly weathered and defaced originals.

The more completely preserved of the two Amazons (pl. 62, fig. 2) will prove especially acceptable to those who attribute this type of Amazon to Phidias—this notwithstanding the loss of the head—by reason of the preservation of most of the right arm, a most important detail which has been lost in the other marble replicas, and wrongly restored in the "Mattei" Amazon, but on the often-cited gem is shown in exactly the same position as it now appears in this marble copy (see G. M. A. Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, revised ed. [1950] 229f., figs. 619f.). Perhaps even more important, the gaping wound and the clots of blood which are represented by the sculptor on the left thigh suggest that this warrior maiden was compelled to make use of her spear as a support as she withdrew limpingly from the combat—unless indeed this detail was an addition by the copyist, since other replicas show no wound. To the considerations of an aesthetic nature which have led the majority of scholars to assign this type to Phidias, one may now add the more purely objective one, that the choice of the two statues to stand at the opposite ends of the hemicycle is best understood as conforming to the consensus of ancient opinion which ranked the Athenian Phidias and the Argive Polyclitus above their fellows, as the outstanding representatives of the sculpture of the great period.

The Ares (pl. 62, fig. 3) and the Hermes (pl. 63, fig. 4) clearly reproduce masterpieces, the search for other copies of which among the repertory of the museums will be the function of specialists. The Hermes shows anatomical treatment closely resembling that of the Doryphoros of Polyclitus (Richter, fig. 645), but with the stance somewhat modified; the Ares has a slenderer build, and it may prove more difficult in this case to adduce exact parallels. Here again, the copyists have done their work with great precision, and with a painstaking skill which renders such details as the loosely waving hair of the crest and the deep undercutting of the eye-holes of the helmet, in the one figure, and what is preserved of the caduceus in the other, in a manner almost unparalleled in marble copies of bronze originals.

The Tiber (pl. 63, fig. 5) presents a somewhat different kind of interest and, for all its reminiscences of earlier works, may well lay claim to being more truly a creation of the age of Hadrian—the

Emperor's own expression of reverence for the deified stream, addressed as early as Ennius as *pater Tiberine*—whose benevolent presence was a prerequisite for the very existence of Rome and for the legendary founders of the city. The watery, wave-like treatment accorded to the river-god's locks and beard is closely similar to that of the colossal mask, also from Hadrian's Villa, no. 244 in the Museo Chiaramonti, which with its open mouth doubtless served as a water-spout in a great fountain and personified the aqueduct which supplied the water; for, just as rivers were sons of Ocean, so aqueducts in turn—miniature rivers themselves—formed the third generation of water-divinities. The Emperor may have felt that there was a certain fitness in the presence of Nile and Tiber as guardians flanking the entrance to the long canal of his Canopus—the two famous rivers serving as patron divinities of the miniature stream.

It is Professor Aurigemma's hope that if technical conditions permit it may eventually prove possible, not only to reconstruct the essential features of the sides and lower end of the valley, using casts of the statues which must be installed in a museum, but also to clear and recondition the canal itself, with a flow of fresh water. This has already been done nearby, with admirable results, for the great pool that forms the central feature of the level expanse stretching alongside the "Poecile" of the villa.

The success, to date, of the present enterprise, together with its promise for the future, is impressive testimony to the riches still held in store by the soil of Italy, and to the care and skill which the archaeological administration is devoting to their recovery and maintenance.

AMERICAN ACADEMY IN ROME



Médaillon en or du Musée de Providence

PIERRE AMANDRY

PLATES 64-65

LE Musée d'Art de Providence a acquis, en 1929, un médaillon en or à *embléma* (pl. 64), provenant, selon le vendeur, de Pagasaï.¹

Inv. no. 29.256. Diamètre du médaillon: 0 m. 07.

Les deux zones qui entourent l'*embléma* sont bordées, de chaque côté, d'un astragale. La zone extérieure, large de 0 m. 007, est plate. Elle est décorée d'une couronne faite de deux rangées de feuilles. Les deux moitiés de la couronne sont orientées en sens inverse; à leur point de rencontre, en haut du médaillon, est encaissée une pierre ou une pâte de verre de couleur sombre, presque noire. Les feuilles de la couronne, de forme allongée et pointue, sont exécutées en filigrane. Des boules isolées sont posées à intervalle régulier, à la pointe inférieure des feuilles où les deux rangées sont en contact.

La zone intérieure, large de 0 m. 013, est fortement bombée. Elle est décorée, dans la même technique que la zone extérieure, de dix palmettes. Chaque palmette comporte une feuille centrale, de même forme que celles de la couronne extérieure; de chaque côté s'en détachent trois feuilles minces et longues, qui se recouvrent alternativement, d'une palmette à l'autre, vers l'intérieur et vers l'extérieur. Chaque palmette est circonscrite par un arc, un peu plus long qu'un demi-cercle, dont les extrémités s'enroulent vers l'extérieur en cercle, formant une petite cupule. Les arcs de cercle sont réunis l'un à l'autre, à l'endroit où ils sont le plus rapprochés, par d'autres cupules, un peu plus grandes que les précédentes. Les palmettes (feuilles centrale et latérales) et les cupules sont remplies d'une pâte de couleur grisâtre. (Il semble qu'on en distingue aussi quelques traces dans des feuilles de la couronne, à la zone extérieure.) La décoration de la zone intérieure est complétée par des rosaces exécutées en granulation et posées entre les arcs; celles qui sont complètes comportent sept boules, une au centre et six au pourtour.

L'*embléma* (diamètre: 0 m. 035) est fixé par trois fils d'or repliés au revers. Il représente un buste d'Aphrodite, la tête légèrement tournée vers la droite. L'épaule et le sein droit semblent être découverts. La

¹ M. John Maxon, directeur du Musée de Providence, m'a offert d'étudier le médaillon et M. Richard Stillwell de le publier dans l'*AJA*. Que tous deux veuillent bien trouver ici l'expression de ma gratitude, ainsi que Melle Christine Alexander, Mme Dorothy Thompson et M. Dietrich von Bothmer, qui m'ont fait part d'utiles suggestions. Je suis seul responsable des conclusions présentées dans cet article. Les profils schématiques de la pl. 65 ont été dessinés à Princeton d'après mes mesures et des photographies des médaillons.

déesse porte un haut diadème ou turban, qui ne laisse apparaître qu'une frange de cheveux, séparés au milieu du front et ramenés sur les tempes et sur les oreilles. Un Eros s'appuie sur l'épaule droite d'Aphrodite; on distingue sa tête, son bras droit et ses ailes. Une autre figure ou un objet, en fort relief, au-dessus de l'épaule gauche de la déesse, est impossible à identifier. La saillie maxima de la figure (à la pointe du nez), par rapport au plan de la zone extérieure, est de 0 m. 025.

Le revers est constitué par une feuille d'or doublant la feuille extérieure. Au pourtour sont soudés neuf anneaux, faisant saillie de 0 m. 004.

La première question à se poser est celle de l'authenticité du document; mais la réponse à cette question ne peut venir qu'en conclusion de l'étude technique et stylistique.

On connaît un certain nombre de médaillons en or à *embléma*; malgré leur ressemblance générale, ces objets présentent entre eux quelques différences, qui doivent s'expliquer par une différence de destination. Le médaillon de Providence se classe dans la même catégorie que les quatre médaillons des collections Stathatos et Bénaki, provenant aussi de Thessalie.² En effet, deux détails l'apparentent étroitement à ces documents, à l'exclusion des autres: d'une part la présence d'anneaux au pourtour (auxquels était accroché un réseau de chaînettes), d'autre part la forme de l'objet.³ Entre le rebord plat et l'*embléma* central, la zone intérieure s'incurve fortement (pl. 65). Ce profil, comparable à celui d'un bouclier, constitue le meilleur argument en faveur de l'hypothèse, proposée par R. Zahn, de l'emploi des médaillons en or comme couvercles de pyxides: il est en effet identique à celui de couvercles à *embléma* en terre cuite, imités de modèles métalliques, qui ont été découverts à Démétrias, à Olynthe et sur un autre site de Macédoine,⁴ c'est-

² Segall, *Museum Benaki, Katalog der Goldschmiede-Arbeiten* (1938) no. 36, pl. XIII-XIV; Amandry, *Collection Stathatos, Bijoux antiques* (1953) nos. 233, 234, 235, pl. XXXVI-XXXVII. Ces médaillons ont été reproduits aussi dans *AJA* 57 (1953) pl. V-IX, figs. 5-13.

³ En outre, le mode de fixation de l'*embléma* au moyen de trois agrafes est commun au médaillon de Providence et à un des médaillons de la collection Stathatos (no. 233).

⁴ Démétrias: *Πραττικά Αρχ. Έρ.* (1912) p. 196, fig. 12.

à-dire dans la même région que les cinq médaillons en or.

L'image d'Aphrodite, coiffée d'un haut turban et accompagnée d'un Eros qui s'appuie sur son épaule, est conforme à un type répandu au IVe et au IIIe siècle av.J.-C.⁵ Les palmettes largement épanouies, aux feuilles minces et recourbées, se rencontrent aussi pendant tout le IVe et le IIIe siècle, mais avec des variantes assez nombreuses pour qu'on puisse essayer de préciser les affinités du décor du médaillon. Elles s'établissent de façon particulièrement nette avec des couronnements de stèles funéraires de la 1re moitié du IVe siècle,⁶ avec des vases de Kertch de la 2e moitié du siècle,⁷ avec des bijoux de la même époque,⁸ avec une frise de l'Asclépiion de Priène, qui n'est pas antérieur au dernier quart du IVe siècle.⁹ Un médaillon en or de Kertch présente, avec celui de Providence, une grande similitude dans le décor des deux zones qui encadrent l'*embléma*.¹⁰ D'autre part, les palmettes du médaillon de Providence paraissent sensiblement plus anciennes que celles qui décorent des œuvres du IIIe siècle, comme les stèles peintes de Démétrias¹¹ et divers objets d'orfèvrerie de Thessalie.¹² Quant aux arcs qui entourent les palmettes et aux alvéoles circulaires qui les séparent, on y reconnaît la transposition dans l'orfèvrerie des courbes et des volutes qui se déplient parmi les palmettes sur les vases attiques et italiotes du IVe siècle.¹³ Ces rapprochements stylistiques suggèrent, pour le médaillon de Providence, une date antérieure à la fin du IVe siècle. Une indication concordante est fournie par la simplicité du décor et par la technique de l'ornementation, exécutée en filigrane,

granulation et émail, le recours aux pierres de couleur restant encore très discret.

Deux détails surprennent dans le médaillon de Providence: l'aspect de l'*embléma* et celui de l'émail. L'*embléma* n'est en fait qu'une ébauche, où n'apparaît que le contour des figures. De longs plis barrent la poitrine et le visage d'Aphrodite, de l'arcade sourcilière au cou, ainsi que le côté gauche du diadème. La feuille d'or a été repoussée, au revers, dans un moule pris sur un modèle de bronze analogue à ceux de Galjûb. Pour faciliter l'extraction de l'*embléma* en haut relief, ce moule devait être fait d'une matière aisée à briser; on distingue, en plusieurs endroits, des traces laissées par une matière étrangère, peut-être de la cire. L'exécution d'un travail au repoussé comporte deux phases: d'abord le repoussé proprement dit, qui se pratique au revers, puis la ciselure du métal, à l'endroit.¹⁴ Dans cette deuxième phase, on aurait dû, sur l'*embléma* de Providence, effacer les plis de la feuille d'or, accuser le modelé, préciser les détails. Or, de toute évidence, on n'a pas procédé à ce travail.¹⁵ L'orfèvre a-t-il livré une pièce négligée? Comme le décor en filigrane est exécuté avec soin, il faudrait supposer que le médaillon était préparé à l'avance, sans *embléma*, et qu'on en décorait le centre, parfois hâtivement, de l'image choisie par le client parmi un lot de modèles. L'orfèvre a-t-il laissé son œuvre inachevée? Il faudrait admettre qu'il avait fixé l'*embléma* à sa place définitive avant d'y mettre la dernière main; dans ce cas, le relief aurait dû être rempli d'une matière assez dure pour permettre à la feuille d'or de résister aux coups de poinçon. Actuellement, l'objet paraît creux, mais on ne peut l'affirmer. D'ailleurs la matière de remplissage, par exemple de la

Olynthe: *AJA* 57 (1953) pl. xii, fig. 21. Macédoine (Mécyberna?); *ibid.* pl. xiii, fig. 22. Un autre couvercle de terre cuite, d'origine inconnue, au Musée de Yale University, présente le même profil: Baur, *Catalogue of the Stoddard Collection*, no. 492, p. 235, fig. 105. D'autres couvercles à *embléma*, en terre cuite et en argent, provenant pour la plupart d'Italie méridionale, ont un profil différent.

⁵ Statuettes de terre cuite: Winter, *Typen II*, p. 82, 7; p. 83, 6; p. 84, 9; p. 85, 8; p. 88, 4; p. 200, 5; Ippel, *Bronzefund von Galjûb*, pl. c, fig. 17. Statuette de marbre: *Ancient Greek Art, Burlington* (1904) pl. xxvii, no. 28. Médaillons de bronze: Ippel, *op.cit.* nos. 60-61, pl. vi; Edgar, *Catal. Caire, Greek Bronzes*, no. 27.861, pl. xvii. Médaillons en or: Segall, *Museum Benaki*, no. 202, pl. xlii; Marshall, *B. M. Catal. of Jewellery*, no. 2883, pl. lxviii.

⁶ Stèles de Grottaferrata et de Kertch: Möbius, *Ornamente der griech. Grabstelen*, pl. vi et lxii b.

⁷ Hydrie de Munich: Schefold, *Untersuchungen*, no. 188; Jacobsthal, *Ornamente griech. Vasen*, pl. cxvi b. Péliké de Leningrad: Schefold, *Kertscher Vasen*, pl. xviii; Jacobsthal, *op.cit.* pl. cxxii b.

⁸ Par exemple, un pendentif d'oreille et une broche en forme de tympan au Metropolitan Museum: Alexander, *Jewelry* (1928) figs. 61 et 92; *Greek and Etruscan Jewelry* (1940) figs. 2 et 13. Les palmettes, sur les bracelets du "lot de Gany-mède", sont à peu près du même type.

⁹ Wiegand et Schrader, *Priene*, 144, fig. 114; Schede, *Die Ruinen von Priene*, 61, fig. 73. Date du temple: dernier quart du IVe siècle, selon Dinsmoor, *Architecture of Ancient Greece* (1950) 223.

¹⁰ Reinach, *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien*, pl. xix, 3.

¹¹ Möbius, *op.cit.* pl. L-LIX.

¹² Par exemple un des médaillons à *embléma* (*Coll. Stathatos*, no. 233, pl. xxxvi-xxxvii) et une boucle de diadème (*Museum Benaki*, no. 29, pl. x).

¹³ Cf. Jacobsthal, *op.cit.* 142-158.

¹⁴ Sur cette technique, cf. Richter, *AJA* 45 (1941) 377.

¹⁵ Noter que la figure en relief sur une bague de la collection Stathatos (*Coll. Stathatos*, no. 236, pl. xli) présente un aspect presque aussi sommaire que l'*embléma* de Providence, en contraste avec le fini des *embléma* des quatre autres médaillons.

poix ou une espèce de mastic, pouvait s'effriter en séchant et s'échapper, au moins partiellement, par la fente qui s'ouvre entre l'*embléma* et le médaillon.

Les palmettes et les cupules de la zone intermédiaire sont remplies, sur toute leur surface, d'une pâte opaque et grisâtre. On a signalé la présence de quelques restes d'émail sur des bijoux du IV^e et du III^e siècle av.J.-C.¹⁶ Mais, souvent, la pâte colorée a entièrement disparu, et l'importance de l'émail dans l'orfèvrerie des premiers temps de l'époque hellénistique n'a pas été, jusqu'à présent, exactement appréciée. Les traces visibles sur des bijoux de cette époque, trouvés notamment en Russie méridionale et en Thessalie, montrent que la plupart des motifs décoratifs, palmettes, rosaces, feuilles, etc. se détachaient en couleur sur fond d'or. Les couleurs le mieux conservées sont le bleu et le vert et, à un moindre degré, le blanc. Mais on remarque aussi des tons moins nets, tirant sur le gris, ce qui semble prouver que d'autres couleurs ont moins bien résisté. L'émail du médaillon de Providence a-t-il été attaqué et décoloré par l'action chimique du sol? C'est possible. Mais la couche d'émail est inégalement répartie en épaisseur, sa surface présente un aspect irrégulier et les alvéoles ne sont pas complètement remplies. Or, dans la technique de l'émaillerie, la pâte est versée dans les parties à décorer et l'objet remis au four autant de fois qu'il est nécessaire pour remplir les alvéoles jusqu'au bord; après quoi, la surface de l'émail est égalisée et polie.¹⁷ Sur ce point non plus, le travail du médaillon de Providence n'a pas été mené jusqu'à son terme. Par négligence ou maladresse de l'orfèvre, encore peu expert dans une technique nouvelle pour lui? Ou par suite d'un abandon volontaire, pour une raison quelconque?

Revenons maintenant à la question préliminaire, celle de l'authenticité du médaillon. L'objet, quand on le tient en mains, fait une impression favorable: il évoque, dès l'abord, les diadèmes, colliers, boucles d'oreille, bracelets et autres bijoux de la deuxième moitié du IV^e siècle av. J.-C. Mais, bien que la première réaction soit souvent juste, on ne saurait s'y tenir. En effet, si le médaillon est moderne, il est l'œuvre d'un orfèvre d'Athènes dont le nom est connu, et la manière aussi. Or cet artisan reproduit habilement les procédés techniques de l'orfèvrerie antique. Ce qui le trahit souvent, comme

d'autres faussaires, c'est moins l'exécution que la conception du décor. Le désir de faire trop beau, pour vendre plus cher, le conduit à multiplier les ornements et à juxtaposer des motifs qui ne se rencontrent pas, dans l'art antique, à la même époque. Or, le décor du médaillon de Providence n'est pas seulement irréprochable du point de vue technique; il est aussi d'une harmonie sans fausse note et d'une simplicité très pure, conforme au goût qui prévaut dans l'orfèvrerie du IV^e siècle.

La fabrication d'un faux médaillon de ce type est inconcevable avant la découverte des médaillons des collections Stathatos et Bénaki. Ces objets ont fait leur apparition sur le marché d'Athènes au mois de juin 1929; on ignore combien de temps s'était écoulé depuis leur découverte. Le médaillon de Providence a été acquis aux Etats-Unis, au mois de novembre de la même année; les dates ne s'opposent pas à ce qu'il soit une imitation des précédents. Il faudrait, dans ce cas, supposer que le faussaire avait compris, dès 1929, l'importance de l'émaillerie dans l'orfèvrerie hellénistique, alors que, dans aucune des œuvres qu'on peut lui attribuer, il n'a pratiqué cette technique. En outre, s'il avait eu recours à l'émaillage, n'aurait-il pas égayé le médaillon de couleurs plus agréables à l'œil que des tons gris et noirâtres? D'ailleurs un détail montre que l'émail du médaillon est ancien. Sur une partie de la feuille centrale d'une palmette, au-dessus de la tête d'Aphrodite, la couche de pâte est brisée; une photographie prise à l'époque de l'acquisition montre la palmette dans le même état qu'aujourd'hui. L'émail a dû être abîmé, à cet endroit, lors de la découverte ou pendant le transport: en effet, l'or, longtemps protégé par la couche d'émail, y apparaît beaucoup plus brillant que sur tout le reste de la surface du médaillon.

Si l'authenticité du médaillon lui-même ne fait aucun doute, suspectera-t-on celle de l'*embléma*? Les deux parties de l'objet étant indépendantes l'une de l'autre, on ne peut exclure *a priori* l'idée que l'*embléma* soit moderne. Cependant deux éléments témoignent en faveur de l'authenticité du buste d'Aphrodite. D'abord, malgré son modélisé sommaire, le visage a l'expression d'une figure antique; or c'est sur ce point que l'art du faussaire athénien est le plus souvent en défaut. Ensuite, l'aspect même de l'*embléma* est de nature à inspirer confiance; le faussaire n'était plus un débutant en

¹⁶ Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, 403; Marshall, *B.M. Catal. of Jewellery*, p. lvi.

¹⁷ Sur la technique de l'émaillerie, cf. par exemple: Garnier,

Histoire de la verrerie et de l'émaillerie, 348-349; Cunynghame, *On the theory and practice of art-enamelling upon metals*, 85; Fisher, *The art of enamelling upon metal*, 12-14, 18-20.

1929, et il n'est conforme ni à son intérêt ni à ses habitudes de faire paraître sur le marché une pièce négligée ou inachevée.

Le vendeur a prétendu que le médaillon provenait de Pagasai; c'est peut-être une raison de penser qu'il a été trouvé ailleurs. Pour les médaillons des collections Stathatos et Bénaki, on a indiqué successivement trois lieux de trouvaille: Halmyros, Domokos, Carpénisi; ces variations les rendent suspects tous les trois. On ne saura jamais non plus si le médaillon de Providence appartient à la même trouvaille que les quatre autres; sa date paraît sensiblement plus ancienne. Un autre lot de bijoux de la collection Stathatos, acquis en 1931, aurait été trouvé aussi à Pagasai-Démétrias.¹⁸ Enfin, d'après certains renseignements incontrôlables, une trouvaille importante de bijoux aurait été faite en 1927 en Eubée (à Erétrie, dit-on). Ces précisions sont il-

lusores, mais l'indication générale doit rester valable. La découverte, à Démétrias et en Chalcidique, de pyxides de terre cuite à couvercle semblable aux médaillons en or, confirme l'existence de ce type d'objet en Thessalie et en Macédoine.

Pièce inachevée ou hâtivement livrée à la demande d'un client pressé, le médaillon de Providence a dû être retrouvé assez près de son lieu de fabrication. Divers indices stylistiques donnaient à penser que les objets les plus importants des collections Stathatos et Bénaki, et notamment les médaillons à *embléma*, pouvaient avoir été fabriqués dans une province du Nord de la Grèce.¹⁹ L'étude du médaillon de Providence paraît renforcer cette hypothèse.

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¹⁸ *Coll. Stathatos*, nos. 217-231.

¹⁹ Robinson, *AJA* 57 (1953) 10-11; Amandry, *Coll. Stathatos*,

133-135. Cette idée a été contestée: Coche de La Ferté, *RA* (1954) 2, 76-77.

News Letter from Greece

EUGENE VANDERPOOL

PLATES 66-69

THIS News Letter is shorter than it might have been owing to the author's departure from Athens early in January 1955 at a time when many excavation reports were not yet ready.

ATHENS AND ATTICA

On the ACROPOLIS the reinstallation of the Museum has proceeded under the direction of Mr. Meliades. The archaic poros pediment groups have been placed in their final positions, mostly in a large, well-lighted gallery on the north side of the building. The slabs of the Parthenon frieze and the Nike Parapet and some fragments of the Erechtheion frieze are exhibited in the corresponding gallery on the south. These western galleries are nearly ready, but no date has been set for their official opening. The reconstruction of the central section of the museum building has been completed, and the so-called Small Museum is about to be demolished to make way for two new galleries. In setting up the slabs of the Nike Parapet, the fragments found just before the war and published in preliminary form by the late Gabriel Welter (*AA* [1939] 15-16) have been joined to the slabs to which they belong. Mr. Meliades promises a full publication of these new fragments and combinations.

The scaffolding has been removed from the southwest wing of the Propylaea, allowing for the first time an unobstructed view of the newly reconstructed parts (pl. 66, fig. 1). The fragments of the epistyle and frieze have been gathered on the spot and made ready to be replaced when the time comes.

In the AGORA the main excavation took place around the southwest and southeast corners, with interesting topographical results. The reconstruction of the Stoa of Attalos proceeded apace, a start was made on the restoration of the Byzantine church of the Holy Apostles, and the landscaping program got under way on Kolonos Agoraios and the western and central areas of the Agora proper. A report has appeared in *Hesperia* 24 (1955) 50-71.

Some important information was obtained about the ROMAN MARKET as a result of a small excavation in Pelopidas Street conducted by Mr. Meliades. The north side of the Market has never been dis-

covered, and it has always been restored on the assumption that the gate of Athena Archegetis was on the axis of the building. This allowed 22 columns on the eastern side of the court. The excavation in Pelopidas Street in the northeast part of the market has revealed the stubs of several columns of the eastern colonnade still *in situ*. The northernmost of these proves to be the 25th, and at least one more column must be assumed since the stylobate continues northward and no corner has been found. The modern house on the north side of Pelopidas Street at this point has a deep cellar which has destroyed all ancient remains, thus preventing further exploration here but it now seems evident that the Roman market extended northward to within a street's width of the Library of Hadrian.

Two new galleries have been opened to the public in the NATIONAL MUSEUM. They contain fourth century and Hellenistic sculpture. Among the pieces now exhibited are the ephebe from Anticythera, newly cleaned and remounted in a slightly different pose, the Marathon boy, the Mantinea reliefs, and the large and striking relief of a horse with a negro groom found on the outskirts of Athens in 1948 and published in preliminary form in *Polemon* 4 (1949-51), Symmeikta p. E'.

Some interesting inscriptions have been discovered. A large slab of marble with several columns of names listed by tribes is evidently part of a long casualty list of the time of the Peloponnesian War. It was found, reused in a later tomb, near Peristeri in the northwest suburbs of Athens. From the village of Vari (Anagyrous) comes the base of a choregic monument set up by one Sokrates, possibly the general of that name, and recording a victory with tragedies by Euripides (*Εὐριπίδης ἐδίδασκε*). A law regulating the use of water from a spring sacred to the Nymphs was found at Lombardo on the coast southeast of Vari. An archaic metrical inscription from the tomb of two brothers, Philoitos and Ktesias, was found by workmen digging in Christou Lada St. (formerly Edward Law St.) east of the church of St. George Karytsis. As given by Mr. A. N. Oikonomides in the newspaper

Kathimerini for February 11, 1955, the text is as follows:

Φιλοτίο καὶ Κτεσίο τὸ σῆμα καὶ ἐποίεσεν φίλος
 ΔΕ—
 ἀδελφὸν οὐνό μνῆμα καὶ[π' αὐτὸν] τάδε.

The gravestone of Kleoboulos son of Glaukos of Acharnai, uncle of the orator Aischines, was found at Menidi. He is referred to as a seer (*μάντις*) and part of an epigram in his honor is preserved on the lower part of the stone; there is also a relief showing an eagle carrying off a serpent. The inscribed kouros base with the name Kroisos (*Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, 361) has been brought in to the National Museum.

Mr. Travlos continued his work at ELEUSIS, clearing all the remaining sacred houses within the sanctuary west of the Greater Propylaea as far as the Diateichisma. His most important find was an inscribed base which once carried a dedication set up by the ephebes of the tribe Kekropis in honor of their officers among whom is Konon (III), son of Timotheos, of Anaphyltos, who was general of the Piraeus. A list of the ephebes, arranged by demes, completes the inscription. The date appears to be around 330 B.C., but the archon's name in the first line is unfortunately missing.

Mr. Mylonas also continued his work of previous seasons in the cemetery along the road leading to Megara. The area of the "Graves of the Seven Against Thebes" was investigated completely, and though no definite proof was obtained, the indications multiplied making more definite the suggestion that the group of graves uncovered in 1953 is indeed that believed by the ancients to belong to the mythical heroes. It was proved further that the graves were investigated for the first time and the wall enclosing them was built in late Geometric times. From then on the area was never reused and apparently was held as a special area. To the west of the area of "The Seven" the cemetery begins to thin out and apparently it ended a short distance farther on. The graves newly investigated in 1954 date from both prehistoric and historic times. A new type of prehistoric grave, which from its shape may be called type Γ, presents some interesting features. These are long narrow graves with a side doorway and entrance passage at one end. The walls of the grave are built of stone corbelled inward, and the roof is flat and made of large slabs. These graves, which are a sort of chamber tomb, were in use in Middle and Late Helladic

times as is shown by the pottery found in them.

Mr. Mylonas' most remarkable discovery was a large amphora of the mid-seventh century B.C. (pl. 67, fig. 3). It was found lying on its side, its mouth blocked by a large slab. Inside was the skeleton of a child. The amphora measures 1.42 m. in height. It is almost completely covered with paintings. On the neck we have a representation of the blinding of the Cyclops Polyphemos by Odysseus and two of his companions. On the shoulder is a lion attacking a wild boar. On the body we have the story of Perseus and the Gorgons. The headless body of Medusa lies on its side at the left. Next to it we have two Gorgons with their mask-like faces and threatening snakes; their forward movement is stopped by a severe Athena who stands in their path like a xoanon to protect the fleeing Perseus. Unfortunately only the winged feet of that hero have survived. The whole composition is done in a grand and impressive manner and there can be no doubt that in the Eleusis amphora we have the best example of Proto-Attic vase painting that has survived. One might even go farther and maintain that the Eleusis amphora is one of the most important and interesting vases found on Greek soil. It does not seem to be by any of the vase-painters known to us to date. Photographs of the amphora and of other things found by Mr. Mylonas have appeared in *ILN* for November 13, 1954.

Five more Mycenaean chamber tombs (LH III B) were excavated at ALIKI between Glyphada and Voula. Two were unrobbed. One contained 28 complete vases and two figurines. One of the figurines is of a very rare type, two *Phi*-shaped women with their bodies joined together and a child between them (cf. Athens, National Museum 3230, from Mycenae; illustrated *AA* [1933] 303). The other tomb yielded 38 whole vases, a terracotta bird, 14 steatite whorls and a bronze knife. There were three niches in the long dromos of this tomb.

At ASKETARIO, near Raphina, Mr. Theocharis continued to excavate the large and important Early Helladic settlement. Many of the houses are well enough preserved so that their plans may be recovered. Their floors were cobbled. The pottery found covers the whole range of the Early Helladic period. A large part of the fortification wall surrounding the settlement was also cleared; it stands in places to a height of 0.80 m.

Mr. Iakovides continued his exploration of the Mycenaean cemetery at PERATI on the north side of the bay of Porto Raphi. 26 tombs were ex-

cavated and 12 others that had been robbed were cleaned out. The total number of vases found this year and last is 355. Although most are plain, a few are nicely decorated with octopuses, fish or birds. They are mostly of Granary and Close Style and date from LH III C. Of the other finds, mention may be made of a group of four Egyptian faience scarabs, two of which were well enough preserved for their inscriptions to be read and which belong to the 18th and 19th dynasties, a lentoid bead with an inscription in Linear B, some animal figurines and some weapons.

PELOPONNESUS

Mr. Broneer continued his excavations on the Isthmus of Corinth. The entire area covered by the Temple of Poseidon was cleared as well as much of the temenos surrounding it. Beneath the floors of the fifth century B.C. temple were found many wall blocks, early roof tiles and other material from an archaic building, the predecessor of the classical temple. Associated with that building a deposit was discovered containing archaic pottery, mostly of the sixth century B.C., 127 silver coins, with a few exceptions coins of Aegina and Corinth (cf. pl. 68, fig. 7), two small bronze bulls, one miniature gold bull, an aryballos (pl. 68, fig. 6), and various other objects. Of the classical temple very little remains *in situ*, but the rock-cut foundation trenches make the plan perfectly clear. Fragments of the superstructure found in the area will permit at least a partial restoration of the temple. The temple was extensively repaired in the fourth century B.C. and again in Roman times. A fine section of the horizontal sima of the fourth century temple with large lion head spouts alternating with tall palmettes cut in the same block as the sima was found. A full report is to appear in the second number of *Hesperia* for 1955.

Mrs. Roebuck dug a series of trenches on Temple Hill in CORINTH and found much valuable evidence for the early archaic period, including many of the terracotta tiles which she is studying. An outstanding find was a remarkably elegant Corinthian aryballos (pl. 68, figs. 8 and 9) with a scene in black-figure, a piper, and a chorus at the head of which a youth springs high into the air with arms flung upward and legs drawn up. Winding among the figures is a long inscription in painted letters commemorating the victory in a dancing contest won by the chorus leader Pyrrhias, the prize being an

olpe. A full report is to appear in the second number of *Hesperia* for 1955.

Near the main highway just southeast of Lechaeon, an ancient cemetery was revealed in a field that was being levelled by a bulldozer. Investigations were undertaken by Mr. Charitonides who permitted Mr. and Mrs. Eliot to supervise the work. Forty-six stone sarcophagi were examined, many having been broken or destroyed by the bulldozer. The burials, resembling those of the North Cemetery, belonged principally to the sixth, fifth and fourth centuries. In addition to pottery of the general run they yielded strigils, two small bronze lions in the form of pendants, a colored glass amphoriskos and two fine aryballois, one of which, dating from the first quarter of the seventh century B.C., is illustrated here (pl. 68, fig. 10).

In the outskirts of Corinth, near the village of Solomos, a chamber tomb of the fourth century A.D. was discovered by chance and excavated by Mr. Pallas. In it were found three skeletons, a glass bottle, and a clay pitcher, while outside the entrance was a deep plate. The door of the tomb had been blocked by a large marble slab 1.55 m. long by 0.80 m. wide. This slab bears an inscription of the first century A.D. eighty-four lines in length. Five honorary decrees passed by various cities of Greece and Asia Minor in honor of Junia Theodora, a Roman inhabitant of Corinth, are recorded.

At MYCENAE Mr. Papadimitriou completed the excavation of the grave circle outside the walls. His most important discovery was a built tomb which lies deep down near the center of the circle (pl. 67, fig. 4). The tomb is constructed of large blocks and its roof is corbelled. The walls of the chamber are stuccoed, and there are occasional red or black lines painted on the stucco. The doorway opens on a walled pit which is really a short *dromos* but accessible only from above. This tomb is then a sort of intermediate stage between a shaft grave and a chamber tomb.

Mr. Wace also worked at Mycenae, excavating a house within the Citadel and two others outside. Ten more clay tablets inscribed in Linear B script were discovered in the "House of Sphinxes" outside the Citadel. Other finds were a number of beautifully made stone vases, one of the best being of green porphyry, the famous *Lapis Lacedaemonius*. A large nodule of this stone was also found showing that the Mycenaeans imported blocks of it from Laconia and worked it at Mycenae. Some pieces of carved wood probably from caskets or

small pieces of furniture were also found. Although partially carbonized and very soft and delicate when found it proved possible to consolidate them. The carved patterns include spirals, an ivy leaf and a scale design, executed with great delicacy. One fragment still has attached to it a small piece of gold leaf suggesting that the wooden caskets were gilt. Moreover, some fragments of ivory inlay found in the same place fit into carved sinkings in the woodwork. Four graves of Geometric times, probably the ninth century B.C., were found sunk into the ruins of the "House of Shields" outside the Citadel.

The French School continued its work at Argos. During the last two seasons the large Roman building near the theatre, whose brick walls and vaults have always been such a conspicuous landmark, has been almost completely cleared under the supervision of Mr. Ginouves. It proves to be a bathing establishment remarkable for its large size, with reception rooms, a *frigidarium* and three *caldaria*. Its date appears to be early second century A.D. In the *frigidarium* a number of statues and fragments of statues were found, including a replica of the Farnese Herakles.

Some Mycenaean tombs were excavated in the Deiras cemetery south of the Aspis. More graves of various periods were opened in the extensive cemeteries south of the town (cf. pl. 68, fig. 11). A well was cleared which contained quantities of black-glazed pottery of local fabric, together with Corinthian wares. Pottery of this kind had not been found in previous campaigns. On the top of the Larissa a votive deposit which had been partly dug by Vollgraff (*BCH* 54 [1939] 480) was further explored. It yielded quantities of small vases, many of them Protocorinthian, hundreds of bronze or lead rings and other metal objects and a faience figurine of the god Bes.

Mr. Caskey continued his work on the mound at Lerna, concentrating as before on a careful stratigraphic analysis of the Middle and Early Helladic layers and on clearing the Early Helladic "House of the Tiles" and associated buildings. The "House of the Tiles" (pl. 66, fig. 2) is a large building 11.80 m. wide and over 25 m. long; its east end has not yet been uncovered. Its walls are of mud brick, 0.90 to 0.95 m. thick and rest on solid stone foundations. A central room, 5.75 m. by 6.30 m., is surrounded by smaller rooms and corridors in one of which is a stairway leading to the

upper floor where the chief apartments appear to have been. A full account of the excavation has appeared in *Hesperia* 24 (1955) 25-49.

It is now possible to give a few more particulars concerning the Mycenaean tombs at EPIDAUROS LIMERA near Monemvasia, whose discovery was noted in last year's News Letter. These particulars were obtained partly in the course of a brief visit to the site in November 1954 and partly from information supplied by Mr. A. Oikonomakos, a former resident of the area who now lives in Athens and who has kindly supplied some photographs of several of the vases (cf. pl. 67, fig. 5). Many tombs can be seen in the area south of the classical acropolis, particularly in the steep banks of the stream beds. In general they have been looted and many are now used as shelters by the local farmers. Two of the tombs excavated in 1953 are just east of the chapel of Hagia Triada and are cut in the steep face of the south bank of the stream. The *dromoi* are not preserved. The chambers are small and roughly cut and have small pits in the floor. The eastern tomb has a deep, sarcophagus-like cutting in the middle, probably indicating a reuse. There are many sherds, mostly Mycenaean, in the earth outside the tombs. A fragmentary pot with incised decoration found here may belong to the period of reuse. The vases found seem to run from LH I to the "close style" of LH III C, and the fragmentary pot with incised decoration may be of the geometric or archaic period.

Mr. Blegen continued his work of clearing the Mycenaean palace at PYLOS; an account has already appeared in *AJA* 59 (1955) 31-37.

At GORTYS in Arcadia the French School completed the excavation of the large bath discovered in 1951 (pl. 69, fig. 15). On the second terrace on the south side of the ravine some fine houses of the third century B.C. were uncovered. The outer wall of the first house is built in a very nice polygonal style on its outer face but with smaller stones on its inner face. This is a socle and the top surface is levelled to receive mud brick. Many small finds make it possible to date the construction of this house at the beginning of the Hellenistic period. The second house had been extensively remodelled in Roman times, but the third again goes back to a fairly early period. These are the first units of the residential quarter which continues on towards the south. Remains of other houses of the same period can be seen on the slopes above this terrace.

NORTHERN GREECE

The torso of a kouros was extracted from the wall of a modern house in MEGARA.

Mr. Mastrocostas conducted an excavation of ANTIKYRA in Phokis where the chance discovery of a bronze statuette of Athena Promachos, just over a foot high and dating from the first half of the fifth century B.C., had revealed the presence of an ancient sanctuary. The foundations of a temple (5 x 10.50 m.) were uncovered, dating from the early sixth century B.C. Inside the temple were remains of an altar of mud brick covered with red stucco. Five terracotta antefixes with gorgoneia belonging to this temple were found (pl. 69, fig. 14) and there were fragments of a number of others. The base of a bronze statuette with a dedicatory inscription to Athena in archaic characters was also found. The archaic temple was destroyed in the fifth century B.C. and a smaller temple was built over its back part.

At KALLIPOLIS in Aetolia a sacred law of the fifth century B.C. was discovered. It forbids entry into a certain sanctuary on penalty of four staters.

At KASSOPE Mr. Dakaris continued the excavation of the Katagogion, work on which he had commenced in 1952 (see now *Praktika* [1952] 326-362). All but two of the rooms have now been cleared. It appears that the building had a second story on three of its four sides, the south side being left as a single story. Among the finds was an inscribed stele recording a dedication to Zeus Soter by a board of four generals "when Aristippos was prytanis" (late first century B.C.). A similar dedication found in 1952 shows that this board of four generals was already in existence a century and a half earlier (*Praktika* [1952] 357, fig. 42).

Mr. Dakaris also excavated at GRAMMENO in the Ioannina district. On a hill half an hour west of the village there are remains of an ancient acropolis. To the north of the hill a trial excavation revealed the foundations in ashlar masonry of a small temple, probably of the fourth century B.C. Its dimensions are 17.55 m. by 12.85 m., it consists of a cella and pronaos, and it faces south. It fell into disuse in early Imperial times, and small houses were built on its ruins in the second or third century A.D. Over bedrock some prehistoric sherds and a light wall of prehistoric times were found.

Mr. Verdelis excavated near the village of Agrilia (formerly SMOLIA) in the Chassia Mountains north of the Thessalian plain. At Agios Athanasios, a

spot beside the stream that flows down to the Tiarresios River, he found a group of cist graves of Mycenaean times and the foundations of a Middle Helladic elliptical house. In another place, near the "kastro" he found a Hellenistic grave with 19 bronze coins and a pair of gold earrings in the form of lion heads.

Mr. Verdelis also excavated two early iron age graves at Retziouni, 8 kilometers west of GONNOI on the lower slopes of Mt. Olympos.

An excellent and well illustrated summary of archaeological discoveries in MACEDONIA and THRACE during the years 1940-1950 has appeared in the periodical *Makedonika* 2 (1953) 590-678, over the signature of Mr. Makarona.

The Athens press (particularly *Vima* and *Kathimerini* for October 31) has reported the discovery and partial excavation of a large underground Macedonian tomb near NAOUSSA in the autumn of 1954. The tomb lies near the main road, about 17 km. north of Verria on the way to Edessa, and near the 82.5 kilometer post of the Salonica-Florina railway. It was discovered by chance by a bulldozer which did some damage to the pediment. The tomb is said to be the largest of its kind ever discovered, having a width of about ten meters and a depth from front to back of about nine. Its façade is two stories high, making it unique among tombs of this kind. The lower story has four Doric columns, and on the wall between them are painted figures of Rhadamanthos, Aiakos and Hermes with their names inscribed beside them. The metopes are decorated with painted centauromachies. The Doric geison also has painted decoration. Above this is a tall frieze with chariot races carved in relief. The upper story has small Ionic half columns with seven false windows carved in full detail between them.

ILN for December 11, 1954 publishes the remarkable hoard of early Hellenistic gold vessels found about five years ago on the site of an old Thracian settlement in the small valley of PANAGURISHTE in central Bulgaria. The objects are now in the National Museum at Plovdiv (Philippopolis). There are nine vessels, and their aggregate weight is 6164 grams or 16 lb. 5 oz. Troy. Four are rhyta, three are head vases, one is an amphora and one a phiale. They are elaborately decorated with scenes in relief, and the handles, when present, are in the form of centaurs, lions or sphinxes. The workmanship is Greek, and a maenad on one of the rhyta is identified as "Eriope" by a Greek in-

scription. The phiale bears an inscription of its original weight, 196 drachmae and 1/4 obol (about 846.9 grams). It now weighs 845.7 grams.

ISLANDS

The French School continued its work at THASOS in the area of the Agora (pl. 69, fig. 13). The passage at the east corner of the Agora which, it was once thought, might be the entrance to the Prytaneion, proves to be a sloping road 11.20 m. long bordered by high walls on either side forming an entrance to the Agora from the region of the Dionysion. One of the two known Thasian lists of Theoroi was engraved on the walls of this passage (*IG XII, 8, 271ff.*). Half way along one side of the passage is a niche which once held an altar. It was apparently in this niche that the French traveller Miller in 1863 found the relief slabs depicting Apollo and the Nymphs, Hermes, and the Graces which are now in the Louvre. The slab with Apollo, whose length corresponds to the width of the niche apparently occupied the back wall, behind the altar. The Graces seem to have belonged to the right as one entered, Hermes to the left. These suggestions have not yet been verified however.

Much new information was obtained about the stoa on the southeast side of the Agora. It was 92 m. long and 17.12 m. wide and had 31 marble columns on its façade. It was divided longitudinally by a wall pierced by doors and windows. The long gallery thus formed in the back part of the stoa was divided into two aisles by a row of fourteen square pillars, with chamfered edges.

In the eastern end of the gallery is an earlier monument of great interest, which was respected by the builders of the stoa and left visible within the gallery. It is a rectangular monument (4.53 x 1.785 m.) with three steps, the top step now missing. In the lowest step, which is of poros, two marble blocks have been inserted. One is uninscribed, but the other carries a boustrophedon inscription in archaic Parian characters (end of the VII century B.C.). From this we learn that the monument was the "mnema" of Glaukos, son of Leptines, the companion of the poet Archilochos, (cf. E. Diehl, *Anth. Lyr. Graeca*, Fasc. 3 [1952] Archilochos No. 68) who took part in the colonization of the island by the Parians. The monument was not a tomb but a cenotaph erected to the memory of Glaukos.

There is more news about the poet Archilochos from the island of PAROS. Mr. Contoleon has now

published in *ArchEph* (1952) 32-95 (issued 1954) the inscriptions relating to the poet which he found in 1949-1950 (*Praktika* [1950] 258). The inscriptions are on two orthostate slabs belonging to the Archilochion, the small sanctuary of Archilochos three kilometers northeast of the town of Paros. Their date is mid-third century B.C. They give us the text of the oracle of Apollo recommending the founding of a sanctuary of the Muses, of Apollo Mousagetes, of Dionysos, and of other deities in which the poet Archilochos should also be honored. Next comes the start of a biography of Archilochos in which we learn how the poet is said to have received his inspiration from the Muses. On the other slab the first third of a goodly number of lines of Archilochos' poetry are preserved.

At SAMOTHRACE Mr. and Mrs. Lehmann completed the building and installation of the Museum and did some conservation work in the sanctuary. The Museum is to be dedicated in a formal ceremony in late July 1955.

The British School continued the excavations begun two years ago at Emporio in South CHIOS. Mr. M. S. F. Hood, to whom the following report is due, and Mr. J. Boardman were in charge.

In the Early Bronze Age settlement the trenches opened last year reached water level at a depth of over 5 metres. The earliest settlement seems to have been here at the foot of the "Acropolis" jutting into the sea at the south side of the harbour, where there may have been a spring. Later the spring was replaced by a well, which continued in use during succeeding phases of the settlement. The main part of the settlement was by now on the "Acropolis" above, but the rough stone walls one and a half to two metres thick defending it came down from the "Acropolis" to form a nose round the well. At a later stage the settlement again spread over a wide area below the "Acropolis," and was destroyed in a great fire. Vases from the floors of houses ruined by this fire include two bird shaped askoi (pl. 69, fig. 12) and large bowls with flaring rims and rich incised decoration. In the period after the fire a high terrace was built round the well supported by a massive wall 5 metres thick.

An area inside the late Roman fortress identified last year on the "Acropolis" was cleared. The fortress was apparently built during the seventh century A.D. against the Arabs, and was destroyed by fire soon after A.D. 660, about the time of the first Arab siege of Constantinople. From the destruction level many vases, coins and small objects were re-

covered. A poor reoccupation lasted into the ninth century A.D. Under the floors of the Roman fortress were houses of the Late Bronze Age with Mycenaean type pottery, and Middle Bronze Age and Early Bronze Age levels beneath them. A notable find was a steatite mould for making butterfly ornaments, like some golden butterflies found by Schliemann in the Shaft Graves at Mycenae. A Late Bronze Age Cist Grave with four Mycenaean vases, and a small Early Bronze Age Chamber Tomb, were discovered on a hill to the south of the "Acropolis."

The early Christian Basilica Church with its Bap-tistry and outbuildings was explored and planned by G. U. S. Corbett. The church was built about the middle of the sixth century A.D., largely with stones taken from a temple of the Classical period (fifth century B.C.) whose foundations came to light beyond the apse of the Basilica. The temple itself had an apsidal west end. Fine Ionic capitals and a base of blue Chian marble, together with mouldings and fragments of large statues of white marble, must have come from this temple. Fragments of mouldings built into its foundations suggest the existence of an earlier Archaic (sixth century B.C.) temple in the area. To this earlier temple must belong the inscribed base of a statue dedicated by a freed slave (late sixth century B.C.), and a votive deposit including a Naucratite chalice with an important inscription which gives the name of the potter who made it.

The early Greek city discovered last year on the slopes of Mount Prophetes Elias north of Emporio was explored and planned by Dr. and Mrs. M. Ventris. A fragment of a Naucratite chalice with a dedicatory inscription confirms that the temple was dedicated to Athena. The temple was built in the sixth century B.C.; but earlier votive deposits out-

side it yielded interesting primitive clay figurines and pottery dating back to 700 B.C. or earlier. The temple stands inside a walled Acropolis enclosing the summit between the two peaks of the mountain. The only other building inside the Acropolis was a large Megaron with columned porch, evidently the "Palace" of the local ruler. The other houses of the city, of which ten have been excavated, all lay outside the Acropolis. They mostly consist of a single room, having the roof supported on columns, and often with a porch before the entrance. Some have a raised sleeping bench formed by a wall along one side of the room. The city, except for the temple, does not appear to have been occupied after the end of the Archaic period about 500 B.C. It may have been abandoned as a result of the Persian ravages after the Ionian revolt.

At Pindakas near Emporio on the road to Pyrgi a settlement of the Classical and Hellenistic periods was explored. This may be a successor of the Archaic city on the mountain. From Metokhi close to Pindakas a fragment was recovered of a fine Archaic Kore statue in white marble.

The site of the military base established by the Athenians during the Peloponnesian War (412 B.C.) at Delphinion in North Chios has been confirmed in trial excavations. Part of the circuit wall with towers was cleared.

A team of divers using aqualung equipment during four weeks of July and August explored the south and east coasts of the island for ancient wreck traces. Several wrecks were identified from remains of amphora cargoes, including one at Komi of the fifth or early fourth centuries B.C.

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF
CLASSICAL STUDIES, ATHENS



Archaeology in Asia Minor

MACHTELD MELLINK

PLATES 70-71

MODERN excavations in Asia Minor now cover nearly the full range of archaeological potentialities of the country. Activities are on the increase since the end of the last world war, and many Turkish and foreign expeditions are regularly at work in the field. They are partly concerned with the early encounter of Anatolians and the historical Near East. Kültepe, place of finding of thousands of "Cappadocian" tablets, now for the first time is in competent archaeological hands, and yields rich information to its Turkish excavators. At the capital of the Hittites, Boğazköy, the next phase of Anatolian history becomes increasingly clear as the annual German campaigns have been resumed since 1952. The contacts with the West, and Aegean repercussions of Anatolian culture, form the center of attention of the new British Institute excavations at Beycesultan in the upper Maeander valley. It is good to know that after the end of the Troy excavations the Western aspects of Anatolian archaeology receive new attention in another critical region.

The survival of the Hittites and their traditions after the invasions of the Sea People is still under scrutiny at Karatepe in the Taurus, while at Nemrud Dağ late echoes that the Hittites are not dead are caught by the new American expedition in the mountains of Commagene.

Individual post-Hittite cultures and languages are the aim of large-scale expeditions: the French one to Xanthos, the capital of the Lycians which lay abandoned since the days of Fellows; and the American excavations at Gordion, the capital of the Phrygians. The history and culture of these states will slowly but steadily be reconstructed in these centers of post-Hittite strength, previously known more through indirect Greek tradition than through excavation.

The Greek impact on Asia Minor (and vice-versa) is just beginning to be explored for the Mycenaean period. Beycesultan, the site of the new British excavations, will contribute to the study, and Frakkin in the Cappadocian Taurus also provides some data on Mycenaean trade. But one looks to the resumption of excavations at Miletus, sched-

uled for 1955, to bring first hand information on the presence of early Greeks on the West coast, and answers to the question of what happened to them ca. 1200 B.C.

The research of the Archaeological Institute of the University of Ankara is directed towards the period when, after the dark ages, Greek traders and colonists again set foot on Anatolian shores. Crucial sites for the reconstruction of this historical chapter have been chosen: Cyme and Phocaea in the Aeolis, Cyzicus and Dascylion on the Propontis (the latter also of Achaemenian importance), and Sinope on the Pontic coast.

Finally, two of the coastal excavations seem to be almost Greek in scope: the successful clearing of the Apollo temple at Klaros by the French, where architects and epigraphers are equally well supplied with new and surprising data; and the exploration of Side on the Pamphylian coast, a magnificent city now being cleaned of its sandy debris. Neither are native undertones wanting in these places; witness the prehistoric cave overlooking the Klaros valley and the strange inscriptions in a very un-Greek language from Side.

It is intended to resume the yearly news reports on the progress of these various current and planned excavations in *AJA*. As there has been an interruption in this department, some sites are reported upon somewhat more fully to indicate what has taken place in interim seasons. It should be pointed out that summaries of archaeological work in Turkey also appear in *Anatolian Studies* (Journal of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara) and in *Anadolu* (Revue des études d'archéologie et d'histoire en Turquie, published by the French Institute in Istanbul).

The following information is based on communications by the excavators, and is partly given in the form of direct quotation. I want to thank the following persons for their kindness in supplying information: Professor Ekrem Akurgal, Dr. K. Bittel, Dr. F. K. Dörner, Mr. Nezih Firatlı, Miss Theresa Goell, Mr. Seton Lloyd, Professor Arif Müfid Mansel, Professor Tahsin Özgüç, Professor Louis Robert.



BRONZE AGE SITES

Excavations at KÜLTEPE (Kanesh) were continued in 1953 and 1954 (for previous reports see *AJA* 54 [1950] 61-63; 55 [1951] 91-95). In the Karum, the area of the Assyrian colonists, more precision has been obtained in the analysis of levels Ia, Ib and II. Level Ib contains some tablets (about 10 were found in 1954); level II is extremely rich in archives (the harvest of 1954 being about 150 tablets). One tablet, from level Ib, tells of a king of Tamnia (unknown so far in Anatolia) who wrote to the king of Kanesh in order to conclude an alliance. He refers to friendly relations between his father and the Kaneshite king's father. The king of Tamnia promises to rebuild Kanesh if the king of Kanesh accepts his suggestions.

Level Ib, the second phase of the colony period in Anatolia, is archaeologically quite distinct from level II. Its buildings are oriented in a different way, and its pottery repertory introduces new shapes while old shapes disappear. Syrian imports are found of the ceramic Middle Bronze type known from Cilicia and the Antioch region (Alalakh). Bronze is abundant in this level. Noticeable are shaft-hole axes with lateral ribs, cauldrons, and stone moulds for the casting of bronze implements found *in situ* in workshops.

Cist graves were found to be particularly rich in

level II. The wealth of some of them suggests that further exploration of Kanesh may produce counterparts to the treasures of Alaca Hüyük. Among funeral gifts found in the second level graves of the Karum are gold diadems, headdresses, plaques, large pins of gold and silver, precious stones.

Work on the city-mound of Kanesh is now concerned with the Hittite level. In 1953 the major trench on the mound had laid bare part of a burnt building with antae of megaron type, which had been repaired and reused twice during the Hittite Empire Period. No tablets were found in this megaron, but two stamp seals are available for dating purposes, and a huge quantity of unworked obsidian had been stored in one room. Under the megaron a well preserved large building was discovered in 1954. This building, destroyed in a violent fire, recalls the temples of Boğazköy in general lay-out. Its walls are built of large mud bricks on stone foundations, and are reinforced with half-columns. Walls, preserved in some places to a height of two meters, and floors are covered with plaster. So far no tablets are associated with this monumental level, but the ceramic dating evidence is plentiful. To the East of the megaron deeper soundings have penetrated well stratified levels of "Alishar III" type in which Cappadocian alabaster idols of the well-known incised category were found *in situ*.

The coordination of the Kanesh city levels with those of the Karum will be pursued in further seasons. It is clear that Kültepe will produce much-desired information on the major building types of the second millennium and the use of the megaron.

Interim reports on the campaigns of 1950 and 1951 have appeared in *Belleten* 65 (1953) 101-127; 66 (1953) 251-288; 289-306. Two preliminary reports have been published in book-form: Dr. Tahsin Özgür, *Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1948* (Ankara 1950); Drs. Tahsin and Nimet Özgür, *Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1949* (Ankara 1953).

Drs. Tahsin and Nimet Özgür also spent part of the fall season of 1954 excavating at FRAKTIN on behalf of the University of Ankara. The purpose here is to establish the connections between the rock-relief of Hattušil III and Puduhepa (Gelb, *Hittite Hieroglyphic Monuments*, No. 22; Bossert, *Altanatolien*, 550-552) and the settlement opposite it. The upper levels are Roman, separated by one meter of debris from the level of the Phrygian Period which is represented by one building-phase only. This "Phrygian" level contains much unpainted pottery but no gray or black polished wares such as are characteristic of the Gordion area. Another stratum of debris overlies the burnt Hittite level. This burnt level is badly disturbed, but pottery and metal objects establish its date as contemporary with the rock-relief. This upper Hittite level produced a Mycenaean (LH III B) stirrup vase in 1947.

The level below this contains good domestic architecture. Its pottery differs from that of the upper Hittite level and rather shows connections with level Ib at the Karum of Kültepe. Cylinder seals of the Hammurabi Period were found *in situ*. Earlier reports on Fraktin are to be found in *Belleten* 45 (1948) 264-267; and *AA* (1939) 565-568.

At Boğazköy (Hattuša) the excavations of the German Orient Society and the German Archaeological Institute continued under the direction of K. Bittel. In 1954 work was done on the citadel (Büyükkale) and on the rock formation Büyükkaya which lies to the N.E. of the ancient city.

On the citadel, systematic clearing proceeded in an area of about 30 by 20 meters S.W. of the archive building A (cf. for plans of previous excavations *Archaeology* 6 [1953] 211 and *MDOG* 86 [December 1953] 9ff.). Four early levels were distinguished under the levels of the Hittite Empire Period. The earliest level is dated by pottery and seals to the period of the Assyrian colonies (ca. 19th century

B.C.). It was destroyed in a violent fire which was evident throughout the area investigated. The most recent pre-Empire level produced fragments of a carefully modelled terracotta animal figure of ca. 0.50 m. in length, the largest figure of this kind known so far from Old Hittite levels.

Investigations on the south side of Büyükkale revealed five successive lines of fortifications. The two most recent stages belong to the early Iron Age and consist of solid rubble walls with projecting rectangular towers. The Hittite wall of the 14th-13th centuries is of box-construction exactly similar to that of the large city-wall of Hattuša as it runs from the Lion Gate to the Royal Gate. Towers project above the wall tract and stand on subdivided bases. The stone substructure of one of these towers is preserved to a height exceeding 7 meters. The slope in front of the wall is paved with clay. Two earlier stages of fortification are Old Hittite, the first one contemporary with Kültepe, Karum level I. Both these walls have projecting towers, and at least the second one is of box-construction which confirms the pre-Empire date of this type of Hittite military architecture (cf. Mersin).

In the course of the 13th century the south slope of Büyükkale was paved with limestone slabs and renovated twice. Parallels for this paved "glacis" are available from Ugarit, and Iron Age survival of this type is known from Kerkene Dağ and Akalan. The trapezoid bastion at the southwest corner of Büyükkale (*WVDOG* 63, *Beilage* 3) is now proved to be a late 13th century addition, joined to the citadel wall by a narrow staircase or ramp. Contemporary or even slightly later is a construction east of the bastion adjoining the foot of the paved "glacis." This building is made of ashlar masonry in soft yellow-brown sandstone, whereas all other Hittite buildings at Boğazköy are made of limestone or, rarely, granite. The sandstone construction consists of a circular, battered foundation crowned by an open platform. This in turn is bordered by a parapet with carefully made rounded capstones. A ramp with a similar parapet leads from the depression south of the citadel up to this platform, its entrance clearly marked with limestone jambs. Sandstone foundations were found behind the parapet on the platform, and fallen in front of it were three large limestone blocks. One of these bears a two-line, unfinished, Hittite Hieroglyphic inscription of an unknown king. Its letter forms as well as the ceramic and architectural context point to a

late date, perhaps the early 12th century B.C., for the sandstone bulwark.

Near the S.E. slope of the citadel a fragment of a human head in limestone came to light, one of the best pieces of 14th century sculpture known to date.

The other efforts in 1954 were concentrated on Büyükkaya where investigations started in 1952 (cf. Güterbock, *Archaeology* 6 [1953] 215). Two vaulted tunnels, perhaps posterns, were cleared on the east side. One of the exits is built carefully of limestone masonry with almost vertical and horizontal joints. Büyükkaya has also provided the earliest traces of settlement in Boğazköy: pottery related to but not identical with the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze ("Copper Age") material from Alaca Hüyük and Alishar; flint, bone, and obsidian tools; polished celts; and a large, flat idol of terracotta.

About 150 Hittite tablets or fragments of tablets were collected in 1954. A large fragment refers to agreements with the Kaškaš region, viz. the Pontic zone, and contains important names of cities and persons in this region.

The final publication of the decorated seals and of Early Iron Age pottery found at Boğazköy since 1931 is being prepared.

In 1953 Sedat Alp of the University of Ankara began excavations on a mound called KARAHÜYÜK about five miles to the south of Konya. The site is large and fairly high, and untouched except for elaborate surface trenching by peasants in search for stones. On the south side an ancient plan can almost be reconstructed with the aid of the long trenches where stones have been removed. Much burnt mud brick near the surface indicates that the upper level was destroyed by fire. The mound was practically deserted after 1200 B.C., when apparently the bulk of the surviving population moved to Alaeddintepe, a site within the present city of Konya, which was partly excavated but left unpublished by the late Remzi Oğuz Arik. The new Karahüyük may well contain the major second millennium settlement of the Konya region.

Mr. Seton Lloyd kindly reports the following on the new excavations in BEYCESULTAN:

"The site called Beycesultan Hüyük, near Çivril in the vilayet of Denizli, was discovered in 1951 by Mr. J. Mellaart, during the course of a mound survey of southwestern Anatolia (cf. *Antiquity* No. 112 [December 1954] 214-220). It was selected for excavation by the British Institute of Archaeol-

ogy at Ankara in 1953 and the first season's excavations took place in May/June of the following year.

"Beycesultan Hüyük, which evidently represents the Late Bronze Age capital of an important province, is situated at a river-crossing on the upper Maeander, and covers an area about two-thirds of a mile in diameter. The first soundings in the eastern summit of the mound revealed a vast palace, now partly uncovered, built apparently in the latter part of the fifteenth century B.C. and destroyed by fire in the earlier part of the fourteenth. The walls had a stone substructure and an upper part of mud brick in a framework of timber, so that the fire had created tremendous havoc. Some recognizable architectural features were nonetheless remarkable, including a sunk 'lustral area,' lightwells, staircases, long parallel galleries, traces of fresco on the walls and formal arrangements of giant pithoi. Much of this was reminiscent of the architecture of the Cretan palaces, while a peculiar feature was the raised floors in the more important chambers and the open ducts which ran beneath them.

"It was found that subsequently a smaller palace had been constructed upon the same site, twice remodelled and itself finally destroyed by fire, perhaps in about 1225 B.C. A last occupation of its ruins marked the end of human habitation in this part of the mound.

"Contemporary with the smaller palace were certain private houses with wood-columned porches and some shops which stood beyond a paved street. One of these evidently sold wine, since it contained vats, a bar, drinking cups of the 'champagne-glass' type, knuckle bones in great quantities, presumably for sport. Another appeared to be a food-store since, in addition to a dozen tall pithoi full of grain and a wooden bin for the same purpose, it contained a representative collection of contemporary pottery, over sixty complete vessels in all. Characteristic of much of the pottery is a tendency to imitate metalwork. A slip with some metallic ingredient is used in order to make the surface resemble bronze, silver or in rare cases gold. Among the shapes, elegant chalices and 'fruit-stands' with loop-handles at the rim and pierced windows in the stem were by far the most common (pl. 70, fig. 1). But there were also many bifoliate, trefoil and quatrefoil vessels, large and small *askoi*, like those from Troy, and gourd-shaped jugs with exaggerated beak-spouts. The only imported wares so far identified are a few late Mycenaean III B sherds from

the little palace, but from the same provenance came stone pommels of Mycenaean-type swords and daggers.

"It has been suggested that Beycesultan was a center of Arzawan culture. If this proves to be so, and the city really represents a home of the people who are known historically to have challenged Hittite domination, its periods of prosperity and disaster can be equated with historical events, on the lines suggested in *The Times* of September 24, 1954."

In November 1954 some more excavation took place at FIKIRTEPE, a small mound in Kadiköy on the Asiatic shore of Istanbul. This prehistoric site will soon be published by K. Bittel.

IRON AGE AND CLASSICAL SITES

At KARATEPE the main activity of the excavators is concerned with the restoration and preservation of the sculptured orthostates. Mrs. Halet Çambel has conducted two campaigns in 1953 and 1954 in the course of which several new orthostates could be pieced together out of broken and scattered fragments. Corrugated iron roofs have been erected over the gateways to protect the sculptures against the inclemencies of the Taurus weather.

At GORDION no excavation took place in 1954. Shepherds accidentally exposed a chamber tomb covered by a small tumulus in the cemetery which lies to the west of the city and across the Sangarios. Another tumulus of this group is described *AJA* 59 (1955) 16. The new grave has two chambers and is built in the pseudo-vaulted style also found in tumulus C at Karalar near Ankara (R. Oğuz Arik, *Türk Tarih, Arkeolojya ve Etnografya Dergisi* 2 [1934] 134ff., pls. 15-16; Bossert, *Altanatolien*, 1123-1126). The Karalar tomb is connected with the royal family of Deiotarus II Philopator (D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, 1266) which suggests a late Hellenistic date for the Gordion tumulus. Some fragments of terracotta tiles were found near the Gordion grave, which it is feared was plundered upon discovery.

At XANTHOS in Lycia five campaigns have taken place so far. The excavations are directed by M. Pierre Demargne, and preliminary reports have appeared in *CRAI* (1951) 63-70; (1952) 163-169; (1953) 151-158; *Syria* 28 (1951) 358-360; *FastiA* 5 (1950) 165-166; *Anadolu* 1 (1951) 37-41. Several areas within the Lycian and Roman city have been investigated and a new survey of the site has been made. The fortifications have been analyzed as to

their chronological development, the agora has been cleared, and special attention has been paid to the Lycian pillar tombs (cf. P. Demargne, *RHA* 55 [1953] 5-29). The Nereid Monument is clean for further study. The Roman theater is in the process of excavation. The general aspect of the site has greatly improved with the clearing of so many monuments which used to be completely or partially buried, and the earlier phases of Xanthos are beginning to be understood as soundings are being made in the best preserved deposits on the Lycian acropolis. A large group of black-figure pottery was found in 1953. We hope to give further details on Xanthos in future reports.

Ekrem Akurgal has been conducting investigations in the Propontis region for the last three years under the auspices of the Turkish Historical Society.

Soundings in Cyzicus near the ruins of the Hellenistic temple of Zeus produced late orientalizing pottery.

The first systematic investigations are now concerned with an important mound on the south shore of the lake of DASCYLIUM (Manyas Gölü, cf. K. Bittel, *AA* [1953] 11). The late fifth century Graeco-Persian reliefs in the Museum of Istanbul come from this mound near the village of Ergili. The provenance of these reliefs suggests that the residence of the Persian satrap Pharnabazus (Xenophon, *Hell.* 4.1.15) is to be found on this mound. For general reasons too this mound deserves to be examined as a prominent center in an archaeologically unexplored area.

During preliminary explorations a Graeco-Persian relief was found in the village, and a small sounding made in 1952 produced an Achaemenid bulla.

During the summer of 1954 trial trenches yielded subgeometric pottery of the first half of the seventh century, Protocorinthian and orientalizing wares, also tile and akroterion fragments, the latter painted wine red and ornamented. All these remains date the beginning of Greek colonization in the Propontis area at least to the early seventh century. During the search for the palace mentioned by Xenophon a handsome and carefully built Hellenistic wall emerged which will be traced further next year.

One trench yielded over 200 Achaemenid bullae of ca. 400 B.C. as attested by their ceramic context (pl. 70, fig. 2). The bullae were found in a heap as discards. The remains of the Persian palace pre-

sumably have to be looked for in the close vicinity. The work in Ergili-Dascylum is to be continued in 1955. The first preliminary report will appear in a new periodical to be published by the Archaeological Institute of the University of Ankara: *Annales Archaeologiae Ancyran* 1 (1955).

In the village of ÖMERLİ between Üsküdar and Sile (Bithynia) several tumuli were discovered in 1954 and investigated by Nezih Firatlı of the Museum of Istanbul. The tumuli are small, two to three meters in height, and contain plain chambers built of limestone. Pottery, glass and coins found with the burials show them to be contemporary with Marcus Aurelius, Macrinus and Elagabalus. Many such tumuli exist in this region. A report will appear in *Bulleten*.

At SİNOPE excavations were carried out in the years 1951-53 by Ekrem Akurgal (on behalf of the Turkish Historical Society) and Ludwig Budde (for the University of Münster). Important results were obtained in connection with the question of colonization in the Pontic area.

The pottery found at Sinope (Early and Middle Corinthian, and orientalizing wares) confirms that Greek colonization did not begin here until the end of the seventh century. This is in agreement with results reached in Berezan near Olbia, at Istros and Samsun.

A series of good finds belongs to the second quarter of the sixth century. An Attic Miniaturist kylix of about 560 occurred in the same context with a mass of late Phrygian pottery which thus for the first time can be dated more precisely.

East Greek sixth century material is surprisingly scant: an aryballos in the shape of a female protome and a Fikellura amphoriskos.

The first half of the fifth century is well represented. Three grave-stelae and two bronze vessels deserve special mention. The stelae are of Milesian-Sinopic style but betray a strong Attic influence. A bronze vessel with a female protome attachment is Argive and of severe style.

From the necropolis come Attic red-figure vases of the fifth century, and fourth century vases with plastic decoration, as well as later wares. Architecturally, the excavations cleared a temple with an altar and remains of stoai of the second century B.C.

A preliminary report will appear soon in *Bulleten* and some of the finds made previous to the excavations will also be published in the reports of the Turkish Historical Society.

Ekrem Akurgal also conducts excavations in the

Aeolis on behalf of the University of Ankara and the General Directorate of Turkish Museums. As in the Propontic research, these investigations are aimed at a clarification of historical questions and early Greek expansion.

Soundings and excavations at PHOCAEA (Foça, 1953-54) have produced late geometric ware and large fragments of East Greek black-figure vases, partly belonging to hitherto unknown classes (pl. 70, fig. 3).

The temple of Athena, mentioned in ancient sources, is thought to have been located on a rock platform at the tip of the peninsula. This platform now carries a modern school building. Trial trenches led to the discovery of an Ionic capital, fragments of an Ionic base of the first half of the sixth century, and sima fragments of the late sixth century B.C.

While excavations at Phocaea were in progress several soundings were also made at CYME. In two places early Greek strata were encountered in undisturbed context. Work here and at Phocaea is to be continued. The preliminary reports will appear in *Annales Archaeologiae Ancyran* 1 (1955).

Professor Louis Robert has conducted annual campaigns at KLAROS since 1950. The propylaea to the sanctuary of Apollo had been located and partly excavated in 1907 and 1913, but the temple was not discovered until 1950 when trial trenches revealed its fallen column drums north of the Propylaea, buried under four meters of alluvium. The temple is Doric, with a hexastyle façade 26 meters wide. It was begun in the third century B.C. and finished by Hadrian. It is well preserved, no lime-kilns having consumed the tumbled columns of the peristyle, which was felled by an earthquake. The most remarkable feature of this oracle temple is the adyton arrangement: two staircases descend under the floor of the pronaos, unite into one corridor and separate again to lead into a system of vaults under the cella. For the previous campaigns cf. Louis Robert, *Les Fouilles de Claros*, Conférence donnée à l'Université d'Ankara le 26 octobre 1953 (Limoges 1954).

In August-September 1954 Professor Robert, assisted by Mrs. Jeanne Robert and Professor Roland Martin, conducted his fifth campaign at Klaros. On the Sacred Road, coming from the temple, excavations have almost reached the excavation of 1953 which started from the Propylaea. No new bases have been found *in situ*, only inscriptions on reused blocks. A column which supported a statue

of the governor Sextus Apuleius was recovered complete. It consisted of four drums and a Corinthian capital with a total height of about 8.60 m. An excavation in an easterly direction seems to give sufficient proof that the Sacred Road was bordered by honorific monuments on the west side only.

At the Apollo temple the clearance of the south krepis and the fallen columns of that side continued. In the middle of the temple, which is preserved in increasing height as one proceeds westward, the surface of the entire vaulting system of the adyton, divided in two unequal parts, has been cleared. Next year the excavation will be carried deeper with the aid of pumps. In the cella the bench supporting the cult statues was reached. Enormous fragments of the cult statue of Apollo were found. The god was represented seated, holding a laurel branch in his right hand as he appears on coins of the imperial period since Augustus. His right arm is 3.45 m. long.

At the end of the campaign the temple altar was found, a monumental white marble structure at a distance of 27.50 m. from the temple façade. This altar is to be cleared further; it consists of four steps in addition to the prothysis, with a depth of 5.19 m.

Inscriptions were not numerous, mainly lists of delegations of cities. It has to be reiterated that epigraphy is not the most important part of the finds in this sanctuary. Of primary interest is the architecture of the temple, in its unexpected state of preservation, especially as regards the subterranean part where the oracles were given.

In the mountains numerous scattered quarries were discovered and proved to have furnished the various kinds of marble used in the sanctuary.

After the excavations some days were devoted to the exploration of the neighboring country to the northwest, the territories of Dioshieron and Lebedos. At Ilica are the hot springs where the rhetor Aelius Aristides sojourned; very near the present baths one sees a basilica, preserved up to the vault, which deserves a full architectural recording.

In August and September Mr. and Mrs. Robert studied inscriptions of Mysia, Lydia and Teos, especially votive and gladiator reliefs, in the museums of Istanbul, Manisa, Izmir and Ankara.

Excavations in Pamphylia have given remarkable results at Side and Perge. Professor Arif Müfid Mansel started his campaigns in 1946 with support of the Turkish Historical Society and the Faculty of Letters of Istanbul University. The first year was

spent on explorations of the necropolis of PERGE (*Excavations and Researches at Perge*, by A. M. Mansel and Aşkidil Akarca [Ankara 1949] cf. *AJA* 55 [1951] 213-214). The excavations at Perge were resumed in 1953. The city-gate with its two round towers (cf. K. Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens* I, 40ff.) was examined and the oval court behind it cleared. It appeared that in Roman imperial times a two-storied, colonnaded front was added to the Hellenistic walls of the court. The niches of the court were doubled in number and provided with statues. Many statues and inscribed statue-bases were recovered. The statues displayed were those of the benefactors (*κτίσται*) of the city, e.g. Plancia Magna, her father M. Plancius Varus (governor of Bithynia and probably proconsul of Asia under Vespasian), and her brother C. Plancius Varus. These stood among statues of deities (Apollo, Hermes, Dioskouroi, Pan, Herakles, Aphrodite, et al.) and the mythical founders of the city (e.g. Mopsos, Kalchas, the Lapith Leonteus, Rixos, son of Lykos, Machaon, son of Asklepios).

In 1954 the monumental arch at the rear of the oval court was completely cleared. This arch stood on a platform paved with marble and accessible from the court via a monumental stairway of four steps. The arch has four piers. The lateral, larger piers have aediculae on the fronts and semi-circular or rectangular statue niches on the flanks. In front and rear of the central, smaller piers there were columns on high pedestals which must have carried a projecting entablature. The main inscription, set in bronze letters in a large "tabula ansata," records that Plancia Magna dedicated this monument to her fatherland (*τῇ πατρίδι*). Moreover, inscribed statue bases were found recording dedications by this same lady to Diana Pergensis (whose priestess she was), to Divus Traianus, Diva Marciana, Plotina (not yet diva), and Hadrian (the latter fragmentary). The arch and the accompanying architectural elaboration of the court thus can be dated between the death of Trajan and that of Plotina, i.e. between 117 and 121/2. Well preserved cuirass statues and female, draped statues were also discovered and probably have to be attributed to the emperors and empresses mentioned.

Excavations at SIDE, the main harbor city of Pamphylia, started in 1947. Two Corinthian peripteral temples of the late 2nd century A.D. were cleared on the south part of the peninsula. East of these a semi-circular temple of the third century A.D. was also excavated (A. M. Mansel, E. Bosch, J. Inan,

Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Side im Jahre 1947 [Ankara 1951] cf. *AJA* 57 [1953] 300-302).

In 1948 the theater was cleared and new inscriptions came to light. The large square behind the *scaena* was identified as the agora, in the middle of which stands a Corinthian tholos, probably a temple of Tyche. Two houses were excavated on the long, colonnaded street North of the Agora. They prove that the Hellenistic peristyle-house remained in use here into early Christian times. Two transept basilicas were also investigated.

In 1949-50 attention was concentrated on a large building on the east side of the Agora. It consists of a colonnaded court with three halls on its east side. The middle hall has niched walls and produced a large number of architectural fragments and marble statues, mostly over lifesize. The walls of this hall were faced with marble and provided with a two-storyed colonnaded front on a high pluteum. Some of the statues in the niches were good copies of 5th-4th century Greek originals: Apollo, Ares, Asklepios, Hermes, Herakles, Hygeia, Nemesis, Nike. In the central niche stood a cuirass statue of an emperor. The head is reworked and seems to represent an emperor of the tetrarchy. This building, therefore, appears to be a state agora and the large room a room for the cult of the emperor. No inscriptions were found here.

In the same years the large city gate was cleared. This is probably Hellenistic in origin. It is flanked by slightly rounded towers and projecting bastions and has a semicircular court in the rear. Probably in the 3rd century A.D. the walls of the court were faced with marble and provided with niches and a colonnade. Some of the statues were recovered: a partially draped male torso (Asklepios?) and two draped female statues, copies of Hellenistic types.

Investigations in 1951-52 turned to two mausolea in the necropolis. In the eastern cemetery a brick structure is partly preserved. Its central rectangular part is extended by four large apses. Niches decorate inner and outer walls. An oval dome supported on four half-domes roofed the structure. It contained an excellently preserved marble sarcophagus of "Pamphylian" type with dancing, drinking and drunken Erotes on the sides, Nikai at the corners, the lid of pedimental shape (first half of the third century A.D.). Two brick sarcophagi of later date were also found. Barrel-vaulted tombs were inserted into the north and south apse, probably in Christian times. The walls of the south tomb had frescoes (wreath,

flowers, peacock and sundry birds in trees). A hypogaeum with two vaulted tomb chambers exists under the floor of the central part.

The second mausoleum is in the west necropolis near the sea, and is built as a prostyle Corinthian temple on a podium. Its façade has a "Syrian" pediment; the cella walls are decorated with richly sculptured pilasters on the outside. The central passage of the pronaos and the cella were roofed with a coffered barrel-vault. The building was faced with marble throughout. It produced many fragments of sarcophagi, mostly of Sidamara type. This funeral temple stood in a court with colonnades on three sides. Of late third century date, it is remarkably similar in decoration to the palace of Diocletian in Spalato. In 1953 a second, larger court was discovered to extend in front of the temple court proper. This second, walled, court has a façade with loggias, towers and colonnades and seems to imitate, on a smaller scale, the principal façade of the Palace of Diocletian.

In 1954 most of the Nymphaeum was cleared. This building is one of the largest of its kind in Asia Minor, and is situated opposite the main gate outside of the city wall. Architectural marble fragments suggest that here as with the Septizonium in Rome we have a three-storyed façade which extended to the sides of the large water basin. Among the sculptures found is a relief of Ixion tied to the wheel, which decorated the front wall of the basin. Epigraphical evidence points to a construction under the Antonines.

Soundings were undertaken in many places to probe into the levels of the early city which, according to Greek sources, goes back to the seventh century B.C. Many ancient wells were cleared in the process. Nowhere, however, could undisturbed early deposits be found. A few pieces of early pottery turned up, but the harvest consisted mostly of Roman ware (many characteristic pieces of Pergamene) and to a lesser extent of Hellenistic.

Excavations are scheduled to continue in 1955. Notices on the Side and Perge campaigns also appear in *Bulleten, Fasti Archaeologici, Anatolica* and *Anatolian Studies*.

In Commagene two excavation groups are in action. Miss Theresa Goell directs the work at NEMRUD DAĞ which was begun in 1953 with support of the American Philosophical Society and the Bollingen Foundation under the sponsorship of the American Schools of Oriental Research. In 1954 the Bollingen Foundation granted further funds.

This American expedition to Nemrud Dağ cooperates with the German expedition to Arsameia-on-the-Nymphaios, which in its turn is directed by Dr. Friedrich Karl Doerner of the University of Münster.

Miss Theresa Goell kindly furnished the following information on Nemrud Dağ. The work here is concerned with the sanctuary (hierothesion) of Antiochus I of Commagene (cf. *Archaeology* 5 [1952] 136-144 and 6 [1953] 246-247). The finds of 1954 confirmed the hypotheses and conclusions of 1953 particularly concerning the stepped monumental platform of the East Court. This had been reported by previous investigators as a monumental stairway leading to the row of colossal statues of Antiochus enthroned with his syncretized deities Zeus Oromasdes, Apollo Mithra Helios Hermes, Herakles Artagnes and the Tyche of Commagene. The platform originally held a row of reliefs of Antiochus being greeted by his pantheon, as on the West Terrace. The West Terrace reliefs were the only ones previously known, but now it appears that such reliefs of greeting and apotheosis belong to a definite artistic complex.

"We received excellent confirmation that the iconography and this platform with steps leading to it—where the reliefs stood—were part of a traditional practice. In Arsameia we also brought to light a colossal relief at the head of a rock-cut stepped platform, showing the king Mithradates being greeted by Herakles. The stele was found near the great Greek inscribed Nomos of Antiochus for perpetuating the cult of himself and his father." (Cf. the report of Arsameia *infra*.)

"The fragments of the row of reliefs of the greeting-scenes of the East Court at Nemrud Dağ were badly demolished, but enough remain to indicate that Antiochus with Herakles stood near the altar on the court floor below the statue of Zeus. We also found the relief of the Lion Horoscope. The additional orthostates composing the wall which faced East are badly laminated and will be treated mechanically in 1955 in order to raise them without destroying whatever may be left of the reliefs, thus giving us the possibility of determining the order of the groups. The row was flanked by sandstone lions and eagles.

"We also continued the clearance of the stairways which flanked the platform and led to (or supported symbolically as high-places or mountains) the colossal Lion and Eagle groups which terminated the ends of the row of colossal statues.

"In the field of sculpture we made some finds which will add fresh material to the repertory of the Hellenistic Period. Being dated within the middle of the first century B.C., they will be of great comparative value.

"The colossal head of Antiochus was extracted from the heavy debris of the West Court colossal statues. It is about nine feet high. The monarch is represented as a young god, in idealized ecstatic expression, and resembles the young Alexander. He wears a pointed headdress indicating his divinity. We also found the torso which was missing from the relief stele of the Tyche of the 'Fatherland Commagene' of Antiochus. She is in a garb resembling the draped style of Pergamon and Ephesus and points to connections with artistic schools of the western coastal cities of Asia Minor (pl. 70, fig. 4). In clearing the area around the altars to the ancestors of Antiochus of the West Court, we found some well chiselled fragments of the garb of the Macedonian ancestors. They wore short skirts with fringes and Roman type vests, with belts decorated with winged bolts of Zeus. One had a medallion showing the face of a young shepherd or Paris."

The outstanding sculptured figure is the dynamic Guardian Lion of the row of orthostate reliefs of the West Court (pl. 70, fig. 5). Miss Goell intends to discuss elsewhere its symbolic character and Hittite affinities.

"While clearing the North Socle I of the East Court, we discovered the relief belonging to it, and representing Darius, the first of the ancestors in Antiochus' Achaemenid genealogy. The face is idealized in neo-classical style, but he wears a 'barbarian' moustache (pl. 71, fig. 6). On his head is a Mithraic cap with the top turned forward and covered with stars. On the most easterly end of North Socle I we found the portrait head of one of the orthostate reliefs, representing a female ancestor, probably Isias who appears in the West Court.

"In association with the architectural and sculptural monuments we brought to light numerous fragments of inscriptions belonging to the ancestor reliefs of the East and West Terrace Courts. It was our good fortune to find in situ specific evidence to corroborate our previous conjecture that we had located the Processional Way to the East Terrace from the southeastern valley below Nemrud Dağ. In searching for the probable routes which the ancient pilgrims followed, Doerner discovered a colos-

sal sandstone stela lying face down in front of the socle which originally held it (Height 2.60 m.; Width, 1.40 m.). It was raised by the order of Antiochus I *ἐν προπτελαῖαις ὁδοῖς* and sets forth the conditions for visiting the hierothesion. It warns those who come with unholy purposes, who might knowingly or unknowingly desecrate the sanctuary. This is a very helpful find, for it supplements and enables us to complete the great new inscription at Arsameia (cf. below), where similar prescriptions for visitors are given.

We excavated several trial trenches to the east, west, and south of the tumulus to ascertain its composition. What we reported in 1953 is corroborated: the rubble is only a surface cap. The core of the peak of Nemrud Dağ lies beneath it. Where there were irregularities or fissures, the builders levelled up the surface with retaining walls of stepped rubble, following the slope of the living rock (pl. 71, fig. 7). Behind the statue of Zeus Oromasdes of the East Court, our trench revealed the fact that the mountain had been chiselled to form a low wall with a platform above, forming a passage (as far as our examination went) between the inscriptions on the base of the statue and its section. It is here that we shall begin in 1955 to search for the dromos or entrance to the last resting place of Antiochus I of Commagene."

Dr. F. K. Doerner of the University of Münster kindly sent the following information on his campaign of 1954 in ARSAMEIA on the Nymphaios river. This site was identified by him in 1951 near the village of Kahta, and a large inscription in five columns on the Eski Kale (Old castle) of Kahta revealed the existence of a sanctuary (hierothesion) established by Mithradates Kallinikos, the father of Antiochus I (*Bibliotheca Orientalis* 9 [1952] 93-96; here pl. 71, figs. 8-9). Excavations began in 1953 (*Anatolian Studies* 4 [1954] 14-15).

The work in 1954 concentrated on the hiero-

thesion of Mithradates which, according to the royal inscription, was located in a "suburb of Arsameia." Its place turned out to be the first terrace of the south slope of Eski Kale. A monumental staircase, partly laid on natural rock, served as an approach and connected the hierothesion with the great foundation which was cleared in the middle of the south slope (Socle II). This socle originally carried two reliefs, over lifesize, fragments of which were found to represent Mithras. The connection between the hierothesion and another foundation (Socle I) at the west edge of the south slope is as yet uncertain. This socle was also rockcut and destined to carry two reliefs. Only the badly damaged lower halves of human figures were recovered.

Great technical difficulties accompany the clearing of the stepped tunnel which leads from the hierothesion into the mountain. The entrance lies immediately under column III of the rockcut inscription. In 1953 about 80 meters of the tunnel were cleared. This stretch has now been reinforced with wooden frames (a difficult task in a barren and isolated region like Eski Kale). The tunnel continues in a straight line even where layers of clay occur in the stratification of the mountain. In antiquity these danger spots were safeguarded by wooden shoring, much like the modern makeshifts introduced by the excavators. The tunnel has now been cleared to a depth of 115 meters without reaching the end. The question whether it leads to the tomb of king Mithradates or to another destination inside the sanctuary cannot yet be answered.

On the plateau the clearing of post-Commagenean habitation levels continued, and a satisfactory analysis of the dense stratification could be made. Fortification embankments at the east side were also investigated.

BRYN MAWR

NECROLOGY

BARTOLOMEO NOGARA, Director General of the Pontifical Monuments and Galleries in the Vatican, died on June 19, 1954.

Born April 28, 1868, at Bellano on Lake Como, he lived to be 86 despite ill health in his last years. Nogara graduated with honors in letters at Milan and in jurisprudence at Genoa. He was a pupil of Elia Lattes and shared in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum* with Pauly, Danielson, and Herbig. He came to Rome in 1900 as Director of the Museo Gregoriano and on November 21, 1911, was appointed by Pope Pius X coadjutor to the Director of the Pontifical Museums with right of Succession, which took place October 1, 1920. An account of his life and a list of his publications were given in the large volume, *Scritti in onore di Bartolomeo Nogara*, published in 1927 on his seventieth birthday. Since then he has published many articles, such as "Milano e Roma" and "Il Vaticano casa del padre," in *Roma Nobilis*, his last one entitled "Una Medusa del Rinascimento nel Museo Civico de Perugia" in *Studies Presented to David M. Robinson I*, 796-800, just after he published a beautifully illustrated volume with 50 color plates and 200 half tones made with the most up-to-date processes, *Art Treasures of the Vatican*, Bergamo, Italy (Tudor Publishing Co., New York 1951). Professor Nogara was the leading living authority on the Vatican and a very great Etruscologist, one of the older generation whose place can never be filled, a great humanist, a man of truly profound religious faith and devotion, and a friend who would give his precious time to encourage scholars by taking vases out of the cases and allowing them to be handled and studied. His amiable disposition combined with remarkable scholarship, his friends and all archaeologists will always remember.

DAVID M. ROBINSON

UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI

ANTONIO MINTO, doyen of Etruscan Studies, died in Florence on August 22, 1954. He was born at Pieve di Sacco (Valdagno) near Picenza, October 11, 1880. He graduated at the University of Padua in 1905, and in 1908 obtained the diploma of the Italian Archaeological School of Rome. I first knew him in 1909, when I was the Annual Professor of Greek at the American School of Classical Studies in Athens. He was then limiting himself to classical archaeology; and the members of our school, when they visited Crete, saw him excavating at Phaestus with Halbherr and Pernier. From 1910-1915 he was *Ispettore alla Soprintendenza alle Antichità dell'Etruria* and again in 1919-1923. From 1914-1918 he was engaged in the war but after 1918 devoted himself to Roman and Etruscan archaeology. From 1922-1924 he was in charge of the National Museum in Naples and director of research in Campania. In 1924 he went to Florence and became superintendent of Antiquities of Etruria. He con-

tinued in that position till he retired in 1951. In 1923 he was called to the chair of archaeology at Turin and in 1925 refused a similar post at Pisa, to remain in Florence. In 1926 he organized the National Etruscan Convention and, in 1928, the International Congress of Etruscan Studies. From 1934 to 1954 he was Professor of Etruscology and Italian Antiquities at the University of Florence and conducted excavations at Marsiliana di Albegna, Populonia, and at the Etruscan sites of Heba, Saturnia, and Sestino. He was the founder and president of the National Institute of Etruscan and Italian Studies, and editor of the journal, *Studi Etruschi*.

In 1940 he received the diploma of merit in the Fine Arts from King Victor Emanuel III. On June 2, 1954, he received the Gold Medal for his services to Public Education.

Minto raised Etruscan archaeology to a scholarly level and contributed with Ducati toward the decipherment of the Etruscan language. He built up the Archaeological Museum of Florence by many additions. The excellent present rearrangement and better display and labelling of its contents are due primarily to him.

He was a member of the *Accademia dei Lincei* and of many Italian and foreign societies. As director of the Archaeological Museum of Florence he published many of its works of art. Among his principal publications may be mentioned, in addition to numerous articles in many Journals, the following: *Marsiliana d' Albegna* (Florence 1921); *Populonia, La necropoli arcaica* (Florence 1922); *Sestinum* (Rome 1939); *Populonia* (Florence 1943); "Terrecotte cretesi," *Ausonia* (1911) 109-115; "Saturnia etrusca e romana," *MonAnt* 31 (1926); "Terrecotte decorative di un tempio etrusco di Orvieto," *BdA* (1925) 68-80; "Le Scoperte archeologiche nell'Agro Voltiano dal 1897 al 1899," *StEtr* (1930) 9-68; "Le ultime scoperte archeologiche di Populonia (1927-1931)," *MonAnt* (1932); "Per la topografia di Heba etrusca," *StEtr* (1935) 10-59; "Figure virili archaiche (Kouroi) del Museo Archeologico di Firenze," *La Critica d'Arte* (1943); "La Colombaria," *Atti e Memorie dell' Accademia fiorentina di scienze morali* 2 (1947) 1-54, published 1951; "Leone marmoreo greco del Museo Archeologico di Firenze," *ArchCl* 1 (1949) 113-116; "Di alcuni bassorilievi tardo-romani," *Hommages à Bidez et Cumont* (1949) 205-215.

Many of us have lost a good and helpful friend and colleague. The world has lost an excellent executive, a great humanist and superior scholar, and one of the eminent Etruscologists.

DAVID M. ROBINSON
UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI

IDA THALLON HILL (Mrs. Bert Hodge Hill) died on December 14, 1954, at sea, on her way home to Athens

with Mrs. Carl W. Blegen. She was seventy-nine years old.*

Ida Carleton Thallon was born August 11, 1876 in Brooklyn, a daughter of John and Grace Green Thallon. She came from Packer Collegiate Institute to Vassar College, where she received her A.B. degree in 1897 and her M.A. in 1901. In 1899-1901 she was a student in the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. From 1903-1905 she studied at Columbia University, which conferred the degree of Ph.D. upon her in 1905. Her teaching experience was all at Vassar, but, remarkably, in three subjects: Greek, 1901-1903; Latin, 1906-1907; History, 1907-1924. Her service was then terminated by her marriage to the distinguished archaeologist, Dr. Bert Hodge Hill, and her departure to Athens.

These facts are only the frame for a portrait of a creative scholar. Her first publication came from her student days in Athens. While there Ida Carleton Thallon and her friend, Lida Shaw King, with two men students of the American School excavated a cave sacred to Pan and the Nymphs at Vari, and the marble reliefs found in it were published by Ida Thallon in the *American Journal of Archaeology* 7 (1903). Next, in 1906, came her doctor's dissertation (this, too, on sculpture), *The Date of Damophon of Messene*. While she was Associate Professor of History at Vassar, in 1914 she produced a source book of 638 pages for the use of students, *Readings in Greek History*—still the best of its kind, *Rome of the Kings* in 1925, and also found time to make a notable contribution to the volume, *Vassar Medieval Studies* (1923) in her essay on "A Mediæval Humanist: Michael Akominatos."

After her return to Athens, she published in collaboration with Lida Shaw King a volume in the *Corinth Series* of the American School (IV, 1, 1929) "Decorated Architectural Terracottas." Her new book, *The Ancient City of Athens*, 1953 (Rev. in *AJA* 58 [1954] 345), is the crown of her scholarship.

Something must be said of the felicitous conditions under which Mrs. Hill wrote it. The house at 9 Plutarch Street, Athens, is the home of four distinguished archaeologists. Dr. B. H. Hill, the Dean of Athenian archaeologists, is continuing his work on the fountain of Peirene in Corinth. Professor Carl W. Blegen of the University of Cincinnati has leave every second semester for his excavations, first at Troy, now at Pylos. At both these digs, Mrs. Blegen (Elizabeth D. Pierce) and Mrs. Hill have assisted.

The hospitality of 9 Plutarch Street is given alike to young American students, Vassar alumnae friends, Greek savants, archaeologists of all the foreign schools, Fulbright professors, and the staff of the American Embassy. Good works abound, for Mrs. Blegen finds time, besides writing learned articles, for executive work in the women's Hellenic-American Club and in a sewing circle for crippled children. The house is a beautiful background for all these activities.

Mrs. Hill's conclusion in her last book is significant. After commenting on the present uninspiring appearance of the Academy and of the hill of Kolonos, she concludes with these words:

"We should not, however, leave this account of the Kerameikos and its neighbors on a note of sadness, but may rather remember the races when the torches, lighted according to Pausanias at the Altar of Prometheus but according to Plutarch at that of Eros, in the Academy were borne flaming along the broad road to the city and the place was ablaze with excitement. The races were of two kinds, those in which the torch was carried alight by single contestants and those we know as relay races.

"The latter may perhaps stand as a symbolic expression of what we have tried to show in these chapters—that the torch, lighted thousands of years ago, was passed on from hand to hand, sometimes burning brilliantly, sometimes flickering or almost extinguished. After the fall of the Byzantine Empire which had cherished the tradition, even the invasions of the Franks and other barbarians from the west, the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks and the subsequent centuries of domination could not quench it, and since the Greek War of Independence and the coming of political freedom once more the divine fire which has never died is still burning in Hellas."

Mrs. Hill has left a nearly finished manuscript of another book on ancient Greek sites outside of Athens, which we hope may be completed and published soon. This would be another *monumentum aere perennius* to her memory. It is a comfort to her friends to know that a treacherous heart spared her invalidism by giving her quick-coming death. Her body rests in peace in the Protestant Corner of the Greek Cemetery in Athens, under cypresses and pines. Her spirit passes on the torch of the divine fire of Hellas to younger scholars.

ELIZABETH HAZELTON HAIGHT

VASSAR COLLEGE

* This tribute is based on my article in the *Vassar Alumnae Magazine*, October 1953.

BOOK REVIEWS

EGYPTIAN PAINTING, by *Arpag Mekhitarian*. Translated by Stuart Gilbert. Pp. 168, col. pls. 104. Editions d'art Albert Skira, Geneva, Paris, New York, 1954. \$20.00.

This book might be entitled "Scenes from the Painted Tombs of the New Kingdom at Thebes, Selected Chiefly by Reason of Their Appeal to Contemporary Taste." Avowedly an old-fashioned and unwieldy title, yet it describes the scope and purpose of the book as explained at greater length by the author in his introductory passages. The handsome volume does not attempt to give a full history of Egyptian painting nor even of Egyptian painting in the New Kingdom. It is confined chiefly to charming and appealing genre scenes and suggestive preliminary sketches from the Theban tombs. These sketches are indeed often strangely modern, though many of them, if finished, would surely have taken on the hieratic quality which the author deplores as academic. In its very limitation, however, the book has great value, for it is bound to attract a public which, in the unhappy cliché of M. Mekhitarian's translator, is "allergic" to many of the traditional subjects of Egyptian art. While the paintings of the New Kingdom are not the noblest achievements of the Egyptian artist, the very nature of the medium invited him to a freedom from established forms which was quite in keeping with the spirit of the age, and his work often shows, accordingly, a spontaneity and freshness rarely met with elsewhere in Egyptian art and perhaps more easily comprehended by the modern mind than are the austereities of the great masterpieces.

The volume is one of the handsomest that has appeared in the Skira series "The Great Centuries of Painting." We have never had color reproductions that render so faithfully the tomb paintings as they appear today. Claudio Emmer of Milan, who photographed the paintings in Egypt, deserves great credit, as does the firm of Aberegg and Steiner of Bern, which made the plates, for their creative craftsmanship. In many instances, Mrs. Davies' beautiful tempera paintings (reproduced in her *Ancient Egyptian Paintings* and in many of the publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art) perhaps come nearer to the color as originally laid on; but here we have what was impossible for her to achieve—the texture as well as the color of the walls and consequently the depth and variety of tone that give life to the paintings. For in spite of the usual (though by no means exclusive) use of flat color without shading, Egyptian painting often gains, through the rough, often carelessly finished surfaces to which it was applied and through its hasty brushwork, a vibrancy that makes it in effect anything but flat.

While the book is directed toward the intelligent layman rather than toward scholars, the latter also will

be grateful for the inclusion among the plates of scenes and parts of scenes hitherto unpublished or inadequately published, such as, for example, the charming bits from the tomb of Menna and from the bourgeois necropolis at Deir el-Medineh. They will also find the text which accompanies the hundred-odd color-reproductions a useful guide to the painted tombs of Thebes. It gives a faithful description of the purpose and technique of the tomb-paintings, with a good section on the preparation of the walls and the materials employed, and discusses the development of style, particularly in the New Kingdom. One sometimes finds oneself in disagreement with the author's aesthetic judgement. It is hard, for example, to dismiss the geese of Medûm as academic, of value chiefly as decoration. Many would not accept the sweeping statement that the art of the period of Amenhotep III is classical and restrained, for in it are clearly discernible the beginnings of the artistic "revolution" that reached its height in the 'Amarna period. And certainly one cannot dispose of everything after the early Ramessid period as belonging to "the degeneracy of Egyptian art." Egyptian art changes in the later periods, but much of it is of a quality not so easily to be tossed aside. It is true that little in the way of painting has survived, but certain fragments such as the lovely pieces of painted wall of the Twenty-second Dynasty from the tomb of Djed-Mut-es-ankh and that of an unnamed high priest of Ptah, now in the University Museum at Philadelphia, are as fine as anything produced during the Empire.

M. Mekhitarian's book suffers in the English version from an uninspired, occasionally not entirely accurate, and sometimes rather tasteless translation. It suffers also from a mechanical difficulty that might easily have been avoided: there are no plate or figure numbers; the paintings are designated only by the official number of the tomb and the name of the owner, and one is obliged to hunt (often in vain, for many paintings discussed at length are not illustrated) for a scene meticulously described in the text. These are minor points, only worth mentioning because they mar a book that is otherwise bound to give pleasure and profit to the student and to the amateur of painting.

ELIZABETH RIEFSTAHL

BROOKLYN MUSEUM

DER ZWEITE KURGAN VON PASRYK, by *S. I. Rudenko*. Translated by I. M. Görner (16. Beiheft zur Sowjetwissenschaft). Pp. 96, figs. 29, pls. 29. Verlag Kultur und Fortschritt, Berlin, 1951.

The vast expanse of inner Asia is a region often introduced into archaeological discussions as the great unknown where many innovations and disturbances

may have originated. Apart from the size of the Asiatic steppes there are modern political curtains to discourage exploration or the divulging of exploration results.

In the case of Pazyryk we cannot complain. This site in the Altai, marked by the presence of five rock-pile tumuli, has been intermittently explored since 1929, and news has reached the Western world several times. The excavation of the first "kurgan" was reported to this journal (*AJA* 37 [1932] 30-45) where a brief account of the type of burials and circumstances of preservation can be found.

The present volume offers an excavation report for the 1947 season which was devoted to part of burial II, as much as could be cleared in one season. Excavation in Pazyryk is properly speaking a process of defrosting, extricating the burials and elaborate accoutrements from the perennial frost in which they have been preserved in astonishing freshness. Since tomb-robbers entered Kurgan I and II shortly after the burial period, modern excavators had the novel experience of encountering a glacial stratification. Operations seem to have been conducted with ingenuity in spite of the difficult circumstances and the short duration of the digging (thawing) season.

The type of burial in Kurgan II at Pazyryk is similar to that in I: a rectangular cut is made in the sub-soil; most of the space is then taken up by a built wooden chamber (ca. 5 x 7 m.?) for the burial of a man and a woman. North of the chamber a smaller compartment is reserved for the bodies of seven horses with their elaborate trappings. This subterranean complex is covered with layers of bark, twigs and logs and finally with a rockpile, 40 m. in diameter and 1.50-2.00 m. in height.

The most useful part of the present report is the elaborate description and illustration of the funeral equipment. This includes textiles, costumes, shoes, personal belongings, furniture, and the paraphernalia of the horses. The materials preserved are horn, wood, leather, fur, felt, textiles, pottery, metal; little of the gold, however, has escaped the robbers' attention. Unusual objects in the inventory are the silver mirror (63, pl. 23) and musical instruments (67ff., tambourine, stringed instruments pl. 24, 10-11).

The importance of the material in the second kurgan lies in the range of its artistic workmanship, which is much wider than for Kurgan I. Contacts extend as far west as the Achaemenid and Hellenized world, which are mingling here with the Scythian animal style in a 5th and 4th century complex (the date advocated by Rudenko, p. 90). The most striking elements are Hellenized lotus-palmette designs on horn discs (pl. 1, 1 and 5) from the horse-burial. Other spiral and plant ornaments are less Hellenic than Assyro-Persian. Achaemenid stylization is seen in animal fights on silver belt-plaques (pl. 20, 1 and 3) and other "costume" jewelry (fig. 25).

The wealth and aggressive force of the nomads enabled them to acquire objects in the more civilized parts of the Near East. Sites such as Pazyryk shed

light on the expansion of the Scythian civilization and the curious repercussions of their first millennium invasions of west Asia. In addition, the first hand knowledge of their burial habits in the largest possible area will help to clarify the nature and affinities of earlier invasions. The pit-grave type of burial with built wooden chambers such as found in widely varying regions and periods (royal tombs at Alaca Hüyük, shaft-graves at Mycenae, Phrygian tumuli) has a puzzling element in common with the Scythian kurgans. There is a gradation of affinities, and horse-burials seem to be concentrated in the Scythian zone, at least with this type of tomb; the new results at Boğazköy-Yazılıkaya reveal horse-burials with plain Hittite inhumations and cremations. We have only the latest Iron Age evidence from Scythia proper, and Pazyryk seems peripheral. But Bronze Age studies of the Near East need all the information that can be gathered from inner Asia. One hopes that more translations will be made available, with equally numerous illustrations. For interim reports of more spectacular results at Pazyryk, cf. Barnett and Watson in *ILN* (July 11, 1953, 69-71 and Jan. 1, 1955, 26, with supplementary plates III-IV).

MACHTELD J. MELLINK

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

OURARTOU; NEAPOLIS DES SCYTHES; KHAREZM, by B. B. Piotrovsky, P. N. Schultz, V. A. Golovkina, S. P. Tolstov. Translated by A. Belkind. L'Orient ancien illustré No. 8. Pp. 166, figs. 32, maps 4. Librairie Maisonneuve, Paris, 1954.

Another attempt to acquaint the general reader with progress in Russian archaeology is undertaken by Charles Virolleaud, editor of the French series "L'Orient ancien illustré." He offers translations of three articles recently published as part of a Russian book on ancient civilizations. The articles are fairly brief and obviously meant for general consumption so that the net gain in archaeological information is in inverse proportion to the amount of cheerful enthusiasm in the descriptions.

Urartu deserves special attention from Oriental as well as classical scholars for its dual role as a neighbor and rival of Assyria and as an important center of industry at the critical moment when the first Greek traders in the latter half of the eighth century ventured east. The Russian part of Urartu is being investigated by Piotrovsky, whose systematic excavations of Karmir-Blur (Teshebani) are providing us with the first well-recorded set of Urartean archaeological data. This city, destroyed by the Scythians ca. 590 B.C. or slightly earlier, contains good military and domestic architecture and a liberal supply of small finds. The present article is not nearly so detailed as the summaries of Urartean archaeology offered by Barnett in *Iraq* 12 (1950) 1-43 and 16 (1954) 3-22, or even Barnett and Watson's summary of Karmir-Blur results in *Iraq* 14

(1952) 132-147, but it may serve as a first introduction. A bibliography would have been desirable in the French edition. A full listing of published Russian reports would be helpful to the specialist and not too obnoxious to the general reader. Previous fascicles of the same French series contain professional bibliographies. (Cf. also: *Papers presented by the Soviet Delegation at the XXIII International Congress of Orientalists, 1954, Iranian, Armenian and Central-Asian Studies, 171-182*).

The excavations on the eastern outskirts of Simferopol in the Crimea uncovered the capital of the later Scythian period, Neapolis. Founded in the third century B.C., this city is one of the few experiments in settled living by the Scythians. Architecturally and historically therefore Neapolis offers new and important information. Its city-wall starts out as a single line 2.50 m. thick, but is later reinforced with a second circuit which ranges from 8.50-12.40 m. in cross-section, formidable ramparts behind which the Scythians defended themselves successfully until they were overrun by the Huns in the 4th century A.D.

The most remarkable monument excavated here is a mausoleum 8.65 by 8.10 m., containing over seventy tombs, the first of which is a royal burial in a built stone tomb which contained many weapons and gold ornaments, as gifts, with a male skeleton whose identification as king Skilouros is advocated on general and anthropological grounds. A female burial was contained in a wooden sarcophagus of miniature mausoleum type whose shape could be reconstructed from the imprint it had left in the soil. The funeral construction which harbored these and other tombs dates from the second century B.C. and was originally built against the outer side of the city wall without any further protection, although later events made fortification necessary. The mausoleum continued in use for about three centuries and provided a thoroughly crowded type of accommodation with many superimposed coffins and accompanying horse-burials.

The final essay deals with the Kwarizm-Chorasmian civilization which flourished in the region of the lower Oxus, south of the Aral Sea, until the eighth century A.D. Most intriguing is the discovery of a palace in Toprakkale (apparently the capital of Kwarizm until A.D. 305) with a statue-gallery of the second century A.D. Lifesize painted statues of clay were set in niches along the walls. Some prehistoric finds are recorded for Cambazkale to the east of Toprakkale. Elaborate aerial reconnaissance was undertaken to investigate the question of the so-called change in course of the lower Oxus and to explore ancient irrigation systems. The modern technique of aerial archaeology and geology appears to have been exploited to great advantage in this region. (Cf. also H. Field, *AJA* 51 [1947] 202; 53 [1949] 55-57; 54 [1950] 67-69.)

The three articles are provided with good maps but with progressively deteriorating illustrations. If Russian archaeologists are willing to furnish the West with archaeological information, the West ought to insist upon obtaining good prints for illustration. Or is this

volume after all an unauthorized, and therefore severely handicapped, translation? In that case more bibliography would have been all the more desirable.

MACHTELD J. MELLINK

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

ERETZ-ISRAEL Mehkarim Byidi'ot Haaretz Ve'atikoteha (Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies), Vol. III. Pp. 266 (in Hebrew) + 16 (in English), figs. 21, frontispiece, pls. 10. Israel Exploration Society, Jerusalem, 1954.

This volume of essays written in Hebrew, edited and advised by a distinguished group of scholars, all officers of the Israel Exploration Society, is dedicated to the memory of M. D. U. Cassuto. This Florentine Jewish scholar died in 1951 at the age of sixty-seven during the height of a distinguished academic career. His studies and interests were as diversified as those of his great Renaissance predecessors. His primary field of research was Biblical literature.

Cassuto was a Professor at Hebrew University in Jerusalem and chief editor of the Biblical Encyclopaedia, a foremost commentator on the books of Genesis and Exodus, a significant contributor to the problems of Ugaritic literature, mainly the Ras Shamra texts, an authority on the Jews in Italy, and a serious scholar in numerous related areas. In this volume an appreciation and biography is presented by M. E. Artom (pp. 1-2) and a full bibliography of his writings (numbering more than nine hundred) is published by M. Cassuto-Salzmann (pp. 3-14).

The first article in this book was probably the last work which Cassuto wrote (pp. 15-17). It was found in his desk after his death and is published in this volume "without any alteration or addition." The author through a series of literary reinterpretations of certain Biblical texts (*Gen. 14:18-22*; *Gen. 15* and *Gen. 22:1-2*) attempts to prove that these special references mentioned in the Bible, are passages undoubtedly referring to Jerusalem, although the name as such was never specifically mentioned in the Pentateuch. He understands *Deut. 33:12* as a reference to the Sanctuary at Bethel.

There are forty-eight other articles in this volume which fall into four categories. Six of them are primarily archaeological, twenty-five are philological-epigraphical-grammatical or literary, dealing with a wide variety of Biblical and Semitic language subjects, nine were previously published or read in English and are either philological or archaeological, and lastly, grouped in a special section, are eight articles concerned with the history of the Jews in Italy.

A short summary is here presented of the six archaeological articles. B. Maisler's (Mazar) article discusses *Canaan on the Threshold of the Age of the Patriarchs* (pp. 18-32) in relation to the Twelfth Dynasty Egyptian "Exoration Texts," among other archaeological sources. These red ink inscriptions in extremely cur-

sive hieratic on vases and statuettes record the names of actual and potential enemies in Egypt and neighboring countries who were, due to the nature of these objects, supposed to be at the mercy of the Pharaoh. Mazar studies this list of names (which includes Biblical towns such as Shechem, Hazor, Beth Shemesh, and the earliest reference to Jerusalem) in addition to other pertinent archaeological material and concludes that although Canaan was divided in many ways, it could in reality be considered a geographical unit as far back as the nineteenth century B.C. He also discusses the social-political organization of that country immediately before the Patriarchal Age.

All references to *The Canaanite God Hôrûn* (pp. 46-50) are collated in this article by Leibovitz, Hôrûn, whose country of origin as recorded in an inscription is Lebanon, is considered in the light of the new stelae found at Giza. In relation to this find there is a discussion of the Great Sphinx and the fact that this famous monument was called Hôrûn in the Eighteenth Dynasty.

Tell Abu Hereira is identified by Yohanan Aharoni as the Biblical *Land of Gerar* (pp. 108-111). Numerous sources are examined and various geographical identifications are considered. On the basis of the new archaeological material from Tell Abu Hereira the author associates that site with Gerar even though this attribution was once rejected on the basis of insubstantial archaeological evidence.

Another article with a similar purpose is *An Attempt to Determine the Location of Beeroth* (pp. 111-115) by S. Kallai-Kleinmann. In this case the modern Nebi Samwil is identified through Biblical and Classical references with Beeroth, a Gibeonite city that once was on the border between the territories of the tribes of Benjamin and Ephraim.

"Qayin" means "craftsman" in a number of Semitic languages and S. Abramski in his article titled *The Qenites* (pp. 116-124) theorizes in an extensive and interesting fashion upon the ancient nomadic tribes called Qenites and Qenazites. The author contends that these two groups, but primarily the former, exercised a significant influence in the development of the art of metal working in the ancient Near East. Abramski brings in contemporary ethnological material regarding nomadic metalworkers supporting his analysis of the Qenites status and importance in the Chalcolithic and Bronze Age Near Eastern societies.

Finally, in an article by Ruth B. K. Amiran titled *A Fragment of an Ornamental Relief from Kfar Bar'am* (pp. 178-181), the author reconsiders a relief fragment from the synagogue at Kfar Bar'am and rejects the standard theory that the decoration refers to the signs of the Zodiac. She suggests that the decoration is actually just a stylized meander and metope type popular during the end of the second century A.D. On the basis of this decoration and other evidence the author theorizes that the architect of the Kfar Bar'am Synagogue was from the city of Naveh and that he was responsible for the synagogues in both of these places.

This well bound, nicely printed volume should have a wide audience considering the importance of the authors and their contributions. The Hebrew text appears to be without many errors. The welcome English summary section should be a feature in some of the other foreign language scholarly publications.

KARL KATZ

NEW YORK

RARE ISLAMIC COINS, by George C. Miles. Numismatic Notes and Monographs No. 118. Pp. xi + 138, figs. 236 on 10 plates. The American Numismatic Society, New York, 1950. \$5.00.

FATIMID COINS, IN THE COLLECTIONS OF THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM, PHILADELPHIA, AND THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, by George C. Miles. Numismatic Notes and Monographs No. 121. Pp. 51, figs. 164 on 6 plates. The American Numismatic Society, New York, 1951. \$2.00.

"Islamic numismatic study is nearly one hundred and fifty years old." Yet probably, no two consecutive years of that century and a half saw such significant material presented by one man as these monographs by Dr. G. C. Miles which appeared in 1950-51.

The author has taken upon himself the noteworthy task of publishing all unpublished and rare Islamic coins in chronological order. These publications will supplement and amend the large corpus of catalogued Muslim coins. Our knowledge of Islamic numismatics, history, geography, palaeography-epigraphy, and art will be greatly broadened with the appearance of each pertinent Numismatic Monograph. The superb collections of The American Numismatic Society, the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania (where the former Yacoub Artin Pasha collection is a permanent accession but on temporary loan to The American Numismatic Society) and various private sources, constitute an unprecedented amount of valuable material. Dr. Miles is certainly one of the very few people completely qualified to handle such a stupendous assemblage of important material.

The volume "Rare Islamic Coins" deals with the earliest phases of Islamic numismatics. The book is divided into the following sections: I. *The Pre-Reform Coinage*, including the Sassanian and Byzantine imitations; II. *The Post-Reform Umayyad Coinage*, epigraphal coins minted after the reform of 'Abd al-Malik, until A.D. 750; and III. *The Abbasid Coinage*, from A.D. 750 to A.D. 1258.

I. Sixty-one types of the Pre-Reform period are published under these subtitles: A. Arab-Sassanian (both Umayyad and Abbasid) (53); B. Earliest African and Spanish Issues (in gold and copper) (4); and C. Byzantine-Arab (4).

II. In this section dealing with the Post-Reform Coinage there are seven Umayyad gold dinars, twenty-two Umayyad silver dirhams, and twenty-one Umayyad copper coins of various types.

III. The purely epigraphal types of Abbasid coinage (with the exception of No. 199, a unique gold specimen of the Kabul "bull and horsemen" type) can be divided into the following classifications; A:109 Abbasid gold dinars, B:143 Abbasid silver coins, and C:46 Abbasid copper coins.

A mere accounting of this superb work is all that this reviewer dares attempt. Each coin that Dr. Miles discusses, whether an unedited rarity or a previously misunderstood type, is handled with a profound understanding of its cultural, epigraphic and historic implications.

A recently published article by John Walker (cf. *Numismatic Chronicle* [1952] parts 1-2, pp. 106-110) adds four more early Islamic rarities to the corpus. These coins are interesting combinations of the Sasanian and Byzantine traditions. Miles has also published recently a very fascinating Arab-Sassanian coin in the memorial volume for Ernst Herzfeld (*Archaeologica Orientalia* [1952] pp. 156-171). His analysis of the coin's iconography is extremely valuable. Walker, who is responsible for the British Museum catalogue of Arab-Sassanian coins (London 1941), in a review in the *Numismatic Chronicle* (1950, parts 3-4) proposes one or two minor corrections in connection with this volume of "Rare Islamic Coins."

Five hundred and thirty-seven coins of the Fatimid Dynasty (of which 140 are unpublished issues) make up the contents of Dr. Miles' 1951 contribution. These coins again are from The American Numismatic Society collection and the Yacoub Artin Pasha collection now in the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. These two collections combined form the largest and finest group of the coins of the Fatimids ever brought together. A most important index of Fatimid mints and dates is an essential feature of this fine inexpensive volume. A few minor changes have been suggested by Harry Hazard in a review of this catalogue in *The Muslim World* (1952) 147-149.

KARL KATZ

NEW YORK

SOVETSKAIA ARKHEOLOGIIA, VOL. 18, 1953, edited by B. A. Rybakov. Pp. 480, figs. 208. The Institute for the History of Material Culture, Moscow, 1953. 27 Rubles 10 Kopeks.

The 1953 yearbook of Soviet archaeology carries articles dealing with various aspects of work up to 1952. In so large a country, the topics discussed are necessarily diverse and almost every field of current effort is represented by a paper.

A. Ia. Bryusov, author of the first survey of neolithic cultures in European Russia, to be reviewed shortly, discusses some theoretical bases of neolithic chronology. Noting dependence of dating on Near Eastern history, he touches on the errors inherent in this method and illustrates his evaluation of the Montelius-Müller controversy with examples from the Rus-

sian neolithic. He concludes that a dating error of 250 years is an acceptable margin. On relative dating by comparative stratigraphy in habitation sites, he points out some pitfalls. Similarly, certain objections are raised to pollen analysis and geochronology, but he does not, like Foss, reject the methods of the natural sciences altogether. Somewhat too hastily, it seems, the merits of radiocarbon dating are disputed. While correctly pointing out that, with the present level of technique, accuracy is no greater than that obtained by comparative typing resting on Near Eastern dates, he does not recognize the advantage in scientific method—namely, the inherent refinability of technique. Comparative methods have this property to a lesser degree, but chronological disputes among Near East historians set a limit on the reliability of the whole framework of comparison. Finally, the author questions the practice of identifying neolithic and bronze age cultures by their pottery and suggests that all the remains of a culture be considered.

A. A. Iessen deals with the chronology of early Scythian material, which he dates in the 8th-7th centuries B.C. He studies the characteristic bronze horse-trappings found in the barrows of southern Russia. The Novocherkassk hoard found in 1939 contains a combination of objects which connect with other externally datable cultures, giving a fixed point for the whole complex of finds in the early part of the first millennium B.C.

Grakov and Melikova attempt to differentiate local variants in the archaeological cultures represented by finds—mainly pottery—in 7th-3rd century tumuli generally termed "Scythian." They refer to passages in the fourth book of Herodotus which name some different tribes and think they produced the local variations.

The significance of the Khazars as documented by Byzantine and Arab historians during the 6th-9th centuries is discussed by B. A. Rybakov. He believes that the literary sources exaggerate the importance of these tribes whose archaeological remains seem very meager. He attempts to delimit the boundaries of their actual rule and tries to attribute the Saltov culture of the Don-Donets region to various ethnic groups in the 8th and 9th centuries.

A. L. Mongait concerns himself with the population of the Oka river valley before Slavic colonization. He thinks that the local tribes were probably the predecessors of the Mordvinian people, though this attribution is not certain. He presents a map showing the Gorodets culture, distributed along the banks of the Oka, first identified as a group by V. A. Gorodtsov. N. V. Trubnikova in an unpublished dissertation at Moscow University has divided this culture into local groups. Mongait describes some of the typical sites and the pottery, metalwork and other remains from those sites which have been excavated.

During the 19th century, there was a passion for barrow opening by amateurs. 5500 tumuli opened in the Petersburg region by L. K. Ivanovsky in the 1870's remind one of the unfortunate activities of

French collectors around that time. V. V. Sedov re-studies some of the problems created by this unscientific pillage. When publication was undertaken by Spitsyn in the 1890's, the grave inventories were assigned to Slavic peoples of the late first millennium A.D. Later, Tallgren and others claimed that the culture had closer affinities with finds in Finland. Sedov, disputing this, attempts to divide some of the graves into geographical groups based on differences in grave inventory and funeral rites, attributing some to Slavic, others to Finno-Ugrian peoples. He also discusses the possible chronology.

Late bronze age axes from Georgia are analysed by O. M. Dzhaparidze who notes the problems connected with the origins of the early iron age Koban culture and postulates a Kolikhid late bronze age culture, dated between the 13th and 8th centuries B.C. He distinguishes five characteristic types of bronze axe.

Presented among the reports of expeditions and excavations is M. Z. Panichkina's paper on results of the 1951 survey expedition which visited paleolithic sites in the central Volga region. She illustrates finds from a number of these sites and discusses the implements and animal remains.

Bader and Sokolova publish a report on their excavations of a neolithic camp in the Molotov district at Lake Borovoe in 1949. They date the site in the second millennium B.C. by the pottery and attribute it to the regional culture typified by Bor II, to be published shortly.

S. P. Tolstov, director of the mammoth Khorezm expedition, reports on the fifth year of work since the war. The excavation of the palace of Toprak-kala begun in 1945 was completed. Extensive areas of this wild central Asian region were explored from the air and numerous sites recorded.

The fifth season's work at Piandzhikent is reported by A. M. Belenitski. Piandzhikent is a pre-Arab conquest site in Takjikistan. A series of frescoes was uncovered in clearing a temple complex and some of the living quarters were partially excavated.

A. V. Artsikhovskii describes the 1951 season in Novgorod during which a number of birchbark inscriptions came to light. The area excavated shows very complex stratification in a 7.5 meter cultural layer. Wooden roadways were found—25, one on top of the other—dated by small finds from the 10th to the 16th centuries. The inscriptions, metalwork, ceramic, glass and other finds are illustrated and discussed.

In a supplementary paper, Y. L. Yanin publishes the seals found in the Novgorod dig. There are fifty of them, ten antedating the Mongol invasion.

The Vasilevsky gates, made in 1336 for the Sophia church in Novgorod and taken to Alexandrov by Ivan the Terrible, are published by V. N. Lazarev, with numerous illustrations, in a long note.

In a concluding appendix, L. I. Ivanov has collected a large bibliography on the archaeology of the Soviet Far East (Kamchatka, Amur, Vladivostok, etc.) from 1750-1950.

The maps and plans in this volume show some im-

provement over previous issues, but the quality of the photographic process has not changed, to any great extent, for the better.

BRUSSELS

IRWIN SCOLLAR

CORPUS VASORUM ANTIQUORUM. Great Britain fascicule 13, British Museum fascicule 8. By R. M. Cook. Pp. xi + 67, figs. 15, pls. 586-610. Printed by order of the Trustees of the British Museum, London, 1954. £4.4.0.

This is the first fascicule of the British Museum to come out after an interval of twenty-two years, and it departs from its predecessors in several important aspects. Its appearance is modelled after the Oxford and Cambridge fascicles (no emblem on the cover, the text stapled); it is written by a scholar not on the staff of the museum; and it is the first fascicule of the BM which does not offer us a mélange of several fabrics, but tries to be homogeneous in contents. This fascicule contains some of the later East Greek wares: Fikellura, Clazomenian, and the class of East Greek situlae. East Greek plastic vases have been omitted. Most of the Clazomenian vases in London come from Tell Defenneh, and in order to give a complete record of the ceramic finds from this site, the author has also included the fragments of Attic black figure. The whole question of Tell Defenneh is taken up in a special appendix ("The painted pottery from Tell Defenneh") in which Cook gives a complete list of all the known fragments, discusses their finding places on the site, and draws sound chronological conclusions from the evidence. Naucratis does not receive the same detailed treatment, but another appendix gives a brief indication of the present-day distribution of the finds.

Throughout the text Cook speaks with expert knowledge. His earlier publications in the field of East Greek pottery, notably his monographs on Fikellura (*BSA* xxxiv, 1-98) and Clazomenian (*BSA* xlvi, 123-152) should be at arm's reach for anybody consulting the present fascicule. The author has taken the opportunity to bring his list of Fikellura up to date and to make a few corrections to his list of Clazomenian. This is the first fascicule of the *CVA* which shows the good sense to include also Clazomenian sarcophagi, and the reader is richly rewarded as he turns to the text (45ff.): Cook gives a complete list of Clazomenian sarcophagi known to him, divided by painters. A fuller study is promised for some later time. A similar list acquaints the reader with East Greek situlae. In addition to these longer excursions, the author has incorporated much of his special knowledge throughout the text. There is a useful study of the East Greek helmet in the text to pl. 3 (II D n), a sound discussion of the problem posed by the Clazomenian use of white paint for the flesh of youths (II D n, pl. 4), and an informative paragraph on the question of the winged boar (II D n, pl. 3, 3). Shorter

notes tell us about partridges (II D m, pl. 8, 5-6) and rams (II D m, pl. 10).

Numerous drawings in the text give profiles, restorations, and details not visible in the plates. In addition, two of the plates (II D m, pls. 2-3) reproduce tracings of the figures on the East Greek situlae, an essential aid to the reader who will not be able to make out much from the photographic reproductions. The latter are perhaps the only disappointing feature in an otherwise impressive fascicule. The backgrounds are not continuous and are often much too dark. The lighting is uneven, the highlights are disturbing, and the camera has not always been held at the proper angle to assure an honest, if not uniform, presentation. Many of the fragments have been poised incorrectly. The numbering of the individual pictures on the plates is awkward: there is no indication as to which fragments go together, what are different objects, and what are merely different views of the same vase. For this one constantly has to turn back to the text. Another unfortunate feature is the odd sequence of the various sections: II D n precedes II D m, and III He is interpolated between II D p and II D q. With so many different classes represented, it is perhaps a pity that the text is stapled. The few Attic black-figure fragments will now remain forever separated from the bulk of Attic black-figure in the British Museum.

Most of the notes here appended touch on minor points only and are included merely for the sake of completeness. P. 2: add to Group P an amphora in Laon (old number 1421). P. 5: under provenances of Fikellura, add Sardis (New York 26.199.105). II D n, pl. 1: the other side, no matter how fragmentary, should also have been illustrated, in case joins can be made with other fragments. Pl. 2, 2-4: to Philadelphia E 156 B 2 add Philadelphia E 175 M 13, and to Philadelphia E 147.28 add Philadelphia E 180.1. Pl. 3, 3, note 2: the head in Boulogne is published in *Le Musée* 2 (1905) 264; phot. Archives Photographiques BAA 133. Add to the list, Berlin, private (Blümel, *Antike Kunstwerke* fig. 2); Philadelphia; Brussels; Boston 37.559; Munich market (Auktion Helbing, 29-31 Mai 1913, suppl. p. 6, no. 620). Other additions have been made by Schauenburg, *CVA* Heidelberg I, p. 15. Pl. 4, 4: is the man among the birds seated? Pl. 6, 11: is the incised star on the man's shoulder perhaps a mole? Pl. 6, 13: Philadelphia E 159.1 and E 152.4 almost certainly belong to this fragment. Pl. 6, 17: the female head could be that of a sphinx or siren. Pl. 7, 5: the monstrous cock is in the background; it should have been pointed out that the 'boy' wears an earring and a necklace. Pl. 7, 8: from a krater rather than a dinos, as the picture is set in a panel. Pls. 7, 10, and 8, 2: the description does not tally with the published views; have more fragments been added? Pl. 7, 11: sphinx or siren. Pl. 7, 12: for the grooved lip compare the Clazomenian fragments in Boston (88.835 [Fairbanks pl. 38, 352, 3] and 88.956 [Fairbanks pl. 38, 353, 1], from Naucratis). Pl. 8, 6: deer, rather than mule. Pl. 8, 8: the purple stroke on the thigh is a misplaced marking of the hip. Pl. 8, 13-

14: I take these two fragments to be Attic, akin to 'Tyrrhenian.' Pl. 9, 4: the dancers wear shoes. Pl. 9, 17: Prometheus is tied to a pole, as on Attic vases, rather than a rock. Pl. 9, 20-21: parts of a second companion of Odysseus, likewise transformed, show behind the one turned into a boar (forelegs of a boar or ram); it is not certain that pl. 9, 21 belongs. Pl. 12, 3: the earring of the sphinx should have been mentioned in the text, as it is lost in the reproduction. Pl. 13, 3-4: the published views are inadequate; where is the third siren? How many women are preserved? Pl. 14, 1-4: the first figure holds an oinochae in the right hand, of the same shape as the one standing on the handle-platform of the krater; the 'satchel' on the arm of the second figure should be a flute-bag (cf. *CVA* Brunswick, pl. 6, 2; Lullies, *Antike Kleinkunst in Königsberg Pr.*, pl. 8, no. 60; Louvre CA 2988).

II D m, pl. 10: this plate also contains, under nos. 4-7, the beginning of II D p. II D p, pl. 1, 1-2: I take this opportunity to withdraw New York 48.11.6 from the Group of London B 21, to which I had wrongly attributed it. I have since seen that the New York amphora is by an Etruscan artist whose works are included in Dohrn's Ivy Group (*Die schwarzfigurigen Etruskischen Vasen aus der zweiten Hälfte des sechsten Jahrhunderts*, 144, e.g. nos. 23-26).

III H e, pl. 99, 5: not from a dinos, but from a neck-amphora or a hydria, as the upper picture is in a panel and the stub of the handle is preserved. Add to Cook's description: pupil of Ankaos, dog, foot of Atalante, with boot; crinkly lines are incised on the chitons of Ankaos and the second judge in the contests below. Pl. 100, 1: the 'arm' is the wingbar of a siren. Pl. 100, 21: not a rider but a youth leading a horse. Pl. 100, 35: part of the Greek's foot is preserved. Pl. 101, 8: the woman is not between sphinxes, but between a siren and a sphinx. Pl. 101, 15: is this perhaps from the other side of pl. 100, 9?

II D q, p. 45: add the two Clazomenian sarcophagi in Berkeley (H. R. W. Smith, *CVA* University of California I, p. 5). P. 46, no. 28: the Leipsic sarcophagus, formerly in the collection of E. P. Warren, is from Clazomenae.

Appendix A, pp. 57ff: nos. VI 2, 7, 9, 13, 14, 17 are among fragments which the Metropolitan Museum has received from the University Museum in exchange for the Cypriot fragments Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection*, 320, no. 1908 and 37.11.22.

DIETRICH VON BOTHMER

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

OPFERNDE GÖTTER, by Erika Simon. Pp. 140, pls. 4.

Distributed by Gebr. Mann, Berlin, 1953. D.M. 5.00.

This is the second in the series of select dissertations published by the German Archaeological Institute (see *AJA* 59 [1955] 68). It is devoted to certain groups of scenes on fifth-century Attic vases in which gods are

represented making libations, the gods in question being Athena (with Herakles), Apollo (with Artemis and Leto), Dionysos, Zeus and Hera, and the Eleusinian circle of divinities.

The Apollo scenes are connected by the author with the god's purification after the slaying of the serpent. This is, of course, not the first time that the purification myth has been mentioned in this context. Brigitte Eckstein-Wolf, for example, in an article on libations of gods that came out while Miss Simon's book was still in press (*Mdl* 5 [1952] 44f.; cf. the footnote on p. 139 of Miss Simon's work), considers the possibility only to reject it. Miss Simon, however, shows that a surprisingly good case can be made for it. For example, she discovers on an oinochoe by the Shuvalov painter (Beazley, *ARV*, 754, 24) Apollo's arrival, fasting, at the village of Deipnias, where he is served with wine by the local nymph (Callimachus, frag. 87 Pfeiffer). For the libation scenes with Zeus, Hera, and a winged goddess (e.g., on a hydria by the Oinanthe painter, Beazley, *ARV*, 383, 3) she accepts and strengthens with new arguments Roulez's suggestion (*Choix de vases de Leide*, p. 2ff.) that they represent the oath of the *hieros gamos* and that the winged goddess is Iris, who has fetched the necessary water of Styx. Entirely new, I believe, are the following interpretations offered by Miss Simon: Demeter's farewell to Persephone, who must leave her mother and go down to Hades (on a white lekythos in Athènes, 1754, Dumont-Chaplain I, pl. 37, and on one by the painter of Athens 1826, Beazley, *ARV*, 466, 21), Plouton's welcome of Persephone (on a white lekythos compared by Beazley with two lekythoi related to the Inscription Painter, *ARV*, 468, and on a cup by the painter of Agora P 42, Beazley, *ARV*, 273, 2), and Plouton's arrival in Eleusis and his welcome by Demeter (on the other side of the cup by the Painter of Agora P 42 and on the reverse of a stamnos by the Triptolemos painter, Beazley, *ARV*, 239, 2). New also is her identification of the two gods, enthroned, on a volute krater of the Group of Polygnotos (Beazley, *ARV*, 696, 23) as Cybele and Sabazios. In two excursuses she treats of libations of welcome to gods entering Olympus (Apollo, Herakles, Hephaistos, and Prometheus) and libations at the birth of gods (Dionysos, Athena, and the hero Erichthonios). The archaeological material is assembled with great care, and the identifications of scenes are well supported by literary and other evidence. This is a book that must be read by everyone interested in Attic vase-painting and Greek mythology.

In the religious inferences she draws from these scenes, Miss Simon is sometimes less happy. She fails to prove that there is a special nuance of appeasement and reconciliation in libations offered by gods. Athena, when she prays to Poseidon in *Od.* 3. 55ff., knows he cannot hear her for he is still in the land of the Ethiopians (see 5. 282ff.). Her prayer, it should be noted further, is also concerned with Nestor and his sons and the Pylians; one implication, therefore, of the words καὶ αὐτὴν πάντα τελέυτα is that the goddess was seeing

to it that Poseidon's absence from the sacrifice should not deprive the Pylians of a *χαρίεσσα ἀποιβή*. The mention of Styx in Pindar's tenth *Paeon*, line 4 (B. Snell, ed. minor [Leipsic 1953] p. 227) and the use of the water of Styx in oaths of the gods do not necessarily involve propitiation of or *rapprochement* with Kronos and the Titans. Styx took the side of Zeus in the war with the Titans, and it was as a reward for this action that Zeus made her the oath of the gods and had her children Zelos, Nike, Kratos, and Bia dwell with him forever (Hesiod, *Theogony* 383-403). This story is reflected in the beginning of Aeschylus's *Prometheus Bound*, where Kratos and Bia are rigid partisans of Zeus (whereas the 'Olympian' Hephaistos is inclined to sympathize with Prometheus). Hera's oath in *Iliad*, 14. 271-279, moreover, is the only instance in Homer where a god calls Kronos and the Titans to witness. In *Iliad*, 15. 36ff., Hera, in a successful attempt to mollify Zeus, swears by Earth and Heaven, the water of Styx, the head of Zeus, and their marriage bed. In *Od.* 5. 184ff., Kalypso swears by Earth and Heaven and the water of Styx. In the Homeric *Hymns*, furthermore, the gods swear by Earth and Heaven and the water of Styx (*Hymn to Apollo*, 83ff.), the water of Styx (*Hymn to Demeter*, 259; *Hymn to Hermes*, 519), the head of Zeus (*Hymn to Aphrodite*, 26ff.; *Hymn to Hermes*, 274), the well-adorned doorway of the immortals (*Hermes in Hymn to Hermes*, 384), and 'this *akontion* of cornel wood' (Apollo in *Hymn to Hermes*, 460); they never swear by Kronos and the Titans. I think, therefore, that we must regard Hera's prayer to the Titans in the *Hymn to Apollo*, 335ff. as exceptional and that the poet probably is harking back to *Iliad*, 14. 271-279. A poet, of course, could always hark back to a passage in the *Iliad*, but that Pindar had 14. 271ff. in mind when he mentioned Styx in his tenth *Paeon* seems unlikely, for he believed that Zeus had released the Titans from Tartaros and had settled Kronos in the Isles of the Blest. Miss Simon herself refers to these beliefs of Pindar and apparently considers them original with him (p. 34). They may, however, be a good deal earlier. The notion of Kronos as king of the Isles of the Blest grew out of the idea that he was ruler of the gods during the Golden Age (Wilamowitz, *Kleine Schriften* V, 2, pp. 161f.). For an argument that the latter idea was widespread as early as the seventh century B.C. see Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* I, 485f. We ought also to remember that a change in attitude toward punishments inflicted on opponents of Zeus is expressed by the myth that Herakles shot the eagle that fed on Prometheus, which is an interpolation in our text of Hesiod's *Theogony* (see Paley on lines 526-534 and Wilamowitz, *Aischylos: Interpretationen* 130f.). This myth appears in Attic black figure as early as ca. 600 B.C. (*Wiener Vorlegeblätter* D, pl. 9, 1). Incidentally, Miss Simon is too apt to treat the Titans and the Erinyes as if they were beings of much the same kind. This no doubt springs in part from her conviction that Aeschylus is a better guide than 'Religionsgeschichte' to the vase-

paintings of his day. For his *Eumenides*, however, Aeschylus created a new myth. Athena's involvement in the action, the Erinyes' reproach of the 'younger gods' (778-808), and Athena's reference to the thunderbolt of Zeus (827f.)—for I imagine it is such things that Miss Simon has in mind—are all merely a part of the dramatic development of this new myth. They are not evidence that the Athenians of that day believed there was conflict between the Erinyes and the Olympians.

On p. 16 (ninth line from bottom), 'auf den Himmelsboden' should be corrected; Hera scattered the arrows on the battlefield of Troy (*Iliad*, 20, 22ff., 21, 438ff., 505). P. 26, first paragraph: on the introduction of the cult of Bendis into Athens see Nilsson, *Cults, Myths, Oracles, and Politics in Ancient Greece* (Lund 1951) 45ff. P. 32, second paragraph, lines 13-15: for Artemis as joint killer of the serpent see also Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel* IV, pl. 291 A. P. 42, no. 41: Mr. Dietrich von Bothmer informs me that the number of this vase is 5466 and that the figure on the reverse is Artemis with quiver on her back and oinochoe. P. 45, no. 67: add the accession number 06.1021.191 and the reference A. Sambon, *Vases antiques de terre cuite: Collection Canessa* (Paris 1904) 64, no. 232, pl. 16. This pelike was connected with the Chicago painter by Beazley on his visit to New York in October 1946. P. 48, second paragraph, line 3: θεᾶς in Sophocles, *Oed. Col.* 680 is Elmsley's emendation. Contrast the Argive myth that Perseus killed the Maenads, Pausanias, 2. 20.4. P. 48, last line: on Oinopion see F. Magi, *Annuario* 1-2 (1939-1940) 63ff. P. 51, second paragraph: add the miraculous vine on Mount Parnassos, Euripides, *Phoen.* 229ff., and the one on Euboa, Sophocles, frag. 255, Jebb-Pearson, where see further the references in the note. P. 54, end of second paragraph: it would have been well to mention here the emendations that have been proposed for the quotation from Philochorus in Athenaeus 14. 628 a. P. 55, second paragraph: the fact that the etymology of Zagreus, unlike so many ancient etymologies, is phonetically possible does not prove that it is right. We do not know whether the word is Greek. *Ibid.*: the boots discussed here (and also mentioned on p. 53, second paragraph) characterize Dionysos as a Thracian, for they are also worn by Orpheus and his male audience and by other Thracian figures. Note that in Aristophanes, *Frogs* 47, Herakles makes fun of the disguised Dionysos for wearing *kothornoi* and at the same time carrying a club; the club was a hunter's weapon. P. 60, line 8: for *Arm* read *Handgelenk*. On the symbolism of the gesture see Mylonas, *AJA* 49 (1945) 567-568. P. 61, second line after the quotation in verse: for *der* read *einer*. P. 62, thirteenth line from bottom, 'von allen': Roulez, however, identified her as Iris. P. 66, no. 7: for *Oianthemaler* read *Oianthemer*. P. 68, ninth line from bottom, and note 17 on p. 119: line 477 of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* is a doublet of line 474. We cannot use the fact that Triptolemos' name precedes those of the other Eleusinians as an indication that he was the first to whom

Demeter revealed her mysteries. If the poet had meant that, he would have said so explicitly. P. 74, end of first paragraph: the group on the interior of the cup by the Codrus painter in London is to be thought of as a part of the symposium of deities on the outside, as was indicated by Beazley, *ARV*, 739, 3. P. 77, second paragraph: Rumpf, *Miscellanea Academica Berolinensis* (1950) 43, has shown that the Europa inscription need not be Christian; he suggests that the 'Aspasia' is Europa, wife of Danaos, and that it may have belonged to the group of Danaids of which the Herculaneum Dancers are reduced copies. P. 81, tenth line from bottom: the *κούπαι* in Pindar, *Pyth.* 3. 78 are mortal maidens; see Wilamowitz, *Pindaros*, 270. P. 83, second paragraph, line 13, 'Halbwüchsigen': Aeschines was already grown up (*ἀνὴρ γενόμενος*), when he led the *thiasoi*. P. 84, ninth line from bottom: though Aristophanes mentions Sabazios worship as typical of the extravagant behavior of women, it is rather to the Adonis worshippers that his Proboulos appears to attribute the Sicilian disaster. The imitation of funerary rites in the Adonia was an evil omen (Plutarch, *Alcibiades* 18 and *Nicias* 13). P. 91, last paragraph: on the branch held by Zeus see Rumpf, *JdL* 65-66 (1950-51) 171, and the reviewer in *AJA* 58 (1954) 71. P. 109, first two lines: the reference should read Euripides, *Alc.* 1ff. und Schol. P. 114, note 31: for a possible wine miracle at Corinth see Bonner, *AJA* 33 (1929) 368ff. P. 116, note 49: add Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* I, 536-7. P. 118, note 2: for Lekythos read Halsamphora and for 470 Taf. 4, 1 read 470-471 Abb. 4, 1. This piece is no. 13 in Dugas's list. P. 120, note 22: as there is no evidence for Triptolemos as a judge in the underworld before the fourth century B.C., the subject is perhaps not germane to a discussion of vase-paintings of the first half of the fifth century. On the myth of the underworld judges see Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* I, 774ff. P. 120, note 36, line 5: for *fackeltragende* read *szeptertragende*. P. 122, note 59: in Aristophanes, *Plut.* 727, Πλούτων stands for the Πλούτος after whom the play is named.

MARJORIE J. MILNE

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

COLLECTION HÉLÈNE STATHATOS. *LES BIJOUX ANTIQUES*. By Pierre Amandry. Pp. 148, figs. 80, pls. 54. En dépôt chez l'auteur à l'Institut d'Archéologie de l'Université Strasbourg. Strasbourg, 1953. \$20.00.

This jewelry, so long known to visitors through the hospitality of the owner, now appears in a catalogue of 315 entries, richly illustrated. The catalogue deals exhaustively with the ancient Greek jewelry for which the Stathatos collection is chiefly renowned; other classical antiquities in the collection, not related to the jewelry by provenance or material, are mentioned and illustrated in the introductory text. They

are a small, distinguished group, including for example the red-figured egg by the Eretria painter and several good bronzes.

The collection of jewelry has been brought together, over the past thirty years, in circumstances that have given it a peculiar value. Like all collections other than those in the public museums of the countries of origin, it is derived from the market, which in turn subsists on accidental or clandestine finds. The owner has been in a position to prevent in some measure that dispersal of groups and divorce of objects from their provenance which sadden the collectors of the West. She has pursued this possibility with the zeal of the specialist, and has been able through her vigilance to reunite some of what must otherwise have been dispersed. It is fortunate that Mr. Amandry could bring to bear his learning and acumen on such material, and the resulting catalogue is a landmark in a difficult field.

The catalogue proper deals with the gold jewelry and objects that relate to it, or that ought to be included for one reason or another. No. 36, a Minoan gem engraved with ship and crew, receives a small excursus. The Mycenaean and daedalic material, the former largely archaeological, compose the first 45 entries; the last 49 are the isolated or undocumented pieces, mostly of minor interest. The bulk of the collection lies between, in a section on Macedonian Iron Age finds of gold and silver, with relevant bronzes and vases, and another on Hellenistic Jewelry, the latter containing most of the capital pieces for which the collection is noted.

The Macedonian finds, to the number of 167, assembled over a score of years, came, for the most part at least, from unofficial searches in a cemetery at Trilophon-Mesimeri in Chalcidice. They include the puzzling, gold filigree bands, nos. 53ff., unique so far in Greece, which hint at a route to Etruria. Although no separation of tomb groups is possible, and the contents of the graves did not find their way to Athens unless they were marketable, yet all the material is evidently of local manufacture. The author, by making ingenious use of what was to hand, has made this group yield valuable evidence for the Iron Age in northern Greece.

The acquisition in 1929 of 35 pieces from a Hellenistic group made the Stathatos collection one of the most important of its kind. In this lot is the gold naïskos, No. 232, not quite unique if we count the pediment in the Metropolitan Museum, with the capital of one column still remaining to show that the façade existed (*M.M.A. Jewelry*, p. 92). To the same group belong also the three pyxis covers, Nos. 233-235, which together with the Benaki Museum No. 36, offer a standard to which similar objects can be compared. The relation of several such objects to the 1929 group is clarified on pp. 104ff. In this chapter of the catalogue the material is peerless, and the wonders follow one after another, culminating in the two ends of a belt, No. 266, so large as to require a folding plate. Many phases of the jeweler's art in the great period are

superbly represented, and the author, in several essays, has presented them in all their bearings. The text is a mine of information. Why has such a book no index?

The illustrations leave nothing to be reasonably desired. The photography is clear, and the objects in the phototype plates are shown for the most part in actual size, with enlargements only supplementary. An exception is pl. x, where the material is out of scale for evident reasons of make-up. The halftones give, besides the more important of the parallels, the necessary back and detail views of the objects illustrated in the plates. The views in plates and text are so chosen that each is indispensable, and the word "lavish" does not apply to this beautiful book.

CHRISTINE ALEXANDER
THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK. CATALOGUE OF GREEK SCULPTURES by Gisela M. A. Richter. Pp. xviii + 123, pls. 164. Published for the Museum by Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1954. \$22.50.

Miss Richter, who herself contributed much during her twenty-three years as curator to the enrichment of the collection of Greek sculpture in the Metropolitan, now gives us in this handsome catalogue the results of her observations and studies, for which she laid the ground in numerous earlier publications. In a short preface she explains the method of chronological classification adopted, in which the replicas of the Roman period are put side by side with the Greek originals, something which for my part I approve of completely. The chronological sequence is interrupted only in the archaic period for the series of funerary monuments and again in the classical period for the series of funerary stelai of the fifth and fourth centuries.

In the text Miss Richter's principle has been to be as concise as possible. Her entries are indeed precise and clear, and it would hardly have been possible to make them shorter; the illustrations, which are on the whole excellent and give several views of the more important pieces, allow perhaps certain details to be omitted from the descriptions. On the other hand, the brief accounts which precede the series of classical funerary reliefs, or again the discussion of certain problems such as that of the wounded Amazons, go beyond the scope of a catalogue, agreeable though they are to read. At the same time we are happy to find, for the types which exist in several replicas, a description of these replicas, or at least a list of the principal ones, with references that allow us to complete it.

It is known that Miss Richter remains sceptical as to a distribution of archaic sculptures among a certain number of clearly defined schools. One cannot, however, help but be surprised that she does not indicate explicitly, but only by a reference to her *Kourai*, the kinship of the statue in New York with the kourai

from Sounion and the Dipylon head. The head (no. 2) has been attributed by Raubitschek (*JdAI* 31 [1939] *Beibl.* 62) to Aristion who would also be the sculptor of the Volomandra kouros; C. Karouzos thinks—rightly it seems to me—that the head in New York is not by the same sculptor as the Volomandra kouros. As to the head of Athena (no. 23) Miss Richter hesitates between a copy of an archaic original or an archaizing work: the latter appears to me more probable (note the drawing of the eye-lids and the mouth). In connection with the replica of the head of Harmodios (no. 25), the placement of the Tyrannicides side by side appears to me perfectly justified. I came out for the same solution in *MonPiot* 45 (1951) 45-46. See also, more recently, O. Walter, "Zur Tyrannenmörder Gruppe" (*JdAI* 40 [1953] 126ff.). The beautiful fragment of a statue, no. 29 (Athena? The treatment of the hair agrees badly with an added bronze helmet), can well be a Greek original. The treatment of the drapery on the back recalls the Elgin torso of the J. Paul Getty Museum.

In general Miss Richter does not commit herself on the dates of Roman copies and one must admit that definite opinions on this point are often hazardous. Yet in the case of the archaizing head of Hermes (no. 31), for example, the hollow pupils clearly indicate the second century A.D.

It is perhaps an excess of prudence to leave in suspense the attribution of the diskophoros (no. 36) to Polyclitus—known from over twenty replicas, among them the Louvre bronze no. 183, and so typically Polyclitan—for the reason that no discobolus by Polyclitus is mentioned by ancient writers. As to the Lansdowne Amazon (no. 37), I cannot accept the attribution to Polyclitus. Not only do the shape of the face and the very characteristic modelling of the knee not conform to the Polyclitan type, but the very rhythm—the shoulder lowered on the side of the bent leg—is the inverse of that of Polyclitus. Now, this inversion was not necessarily imposed by the use of a support, since the Polyclitan rhythm was observed at about the same time by the sculptor of the 'Narcissus' which is, as Miss Richter herself remarks (no. 52), dependent on Polyclitus. Exceptionally, Miss Richter gives the date of the replica of the Diadoumenos (no. 38) by indicating that the support in the form of a palm trunk is like that of the statues in the exedra of Herodes Atticus at Olympia. This fact is interesting since it allows us to appreciate, notably for the head, the difference between two excellent replicas, well preserved and unrestored, one of the first century B.C., the other from the period of the Antonines. The first clearly appears more exact in reproducing the details of the bronze original, such as the folds of the fillet and the supple and homogeneous hair. The second depends on a marble technique dominated by the excessive use of drill and polishing, producing simultaneously sharp contrasts between light and shadow, harsh ridges and softened modelling of surfaces.

The Hermes no. 48 can only with difficulty be considered a replica of the Hermes by Alkamenes, the treatment of the beard being too different. The torso

no. 54 does not seem to be earlier than the middle of the fourth century B.C.; its movement is analogous to that of the Ares Ludovisi. Mr. von Bothmer tells me that the recent acquisition by the Metropolitan Museum of a cast of the fragmentary relief in Leningrad that belongs to the Hesperid relief has made it possible to rectify the poise of the fragment no. 61 (pl. 53).

The magnificent series of funerary monuments of the fifth and fourth centuries has been classified chronologically with proper precision. My only reservation concerns the lekythos no. 88: the mantle of Aristomache tightened over the body and draped diagonally across the breast with a bunching on the left hip can hardly be earlier than 350 B.C.

As to the Lycian Apollo (no. 105), Miss Richter reports that the trunk support, assigned by Muthmann to the second century, is modern. I have made the same observation on two statues of the Louvre, which makes one cautious in regard to classifying supports chronologically—as the author of *Statuenstützen* advocates.

The form of the bust no. 110 is unusual. Has it been recut in modern times? The torso no. 123 (pl. 95, a-c) would gain much if it were set up in its original position, inclined on its left side, the right leg almost perpendicular, that is to say, in the position of the Pothos with which Miss Richter justly compares it. Can the relief of Peitho, Aphrodite, Helen and Paris (no. 144) be a replica of a fourth century original with the high pillar on which Peitho sits and the wide empty space above the heads. Is it not rather neo-Attic?

We note with pleasure that Miss Richter puts the originals of the Venus Medici and the Capitoline (nos. 147ff.) in the fourth century and not in the Hellenistic period as has recently been again proposed. On the other hand, it is not probable that the two types of crouching Aphrodite, the type Vienna-Villa Adriana (here represented by no. 158) and the Rhodian type, are contemporary, and perhaps both by Doidalsas. The second, with legs in profile and body in front view, is the transposition in the round of a motive which appeared in the fourth century in vase painting (and probably in large-scale painting) as well as on gems; the elegant style of the statues of small dimensions which reproduce this motive seems to be neo-Attic. In contrast, the first type, which is massive and ripe, belongs properly to sculpture in the round; the body is on axis with the legs, as in the 'Arrotino' of the Uffizi. As to the female head no. 160, it is a variant of the Capitoline type which could, as a matter of fact, be used for a crouching Aphrodite. But it appears rather that only the head—unfortunately mutilated—of the replica from the Villa Adriana reproduces the original model of Doidalsas.

For the portrait of Epicurus (no. 186) Miss Richter accepts the date generally agreed on, a little before or immediately after the death of the philosopher (270 B.C.). This date seems preferable to that recently proposed by Adriani who for stylistic reasons which are not convincing puts it at the end of the third century

(*Annuario 24-26 [1946-1948]* 147ff.). The big basalt bust no. 189 which comes from Rome and is probably the replica of a bronze naturally makes one think, to be sure, of some Hellenistic prince. The absence of a regal fillet presents a difficulty. Rather than Eu-menes II, however, we could recognize here Antiochus IV Epiphanes. The profile on the coins of this Seleucid show the same shape of skull, the same arrangement of the hair (including the curve of the frontal hair line on the right temple), the same form of nose, and the same square jaw. Now, Antiochus IV stayed in Rome as a hostage from 188 to 176 B.C. If the portrait of this prince was done in Rome before his return to Syria and his accession to the throne, the absence of the fillet can be explained in the same way as for the "Hellenistic ruler" in the Terme Museum which is taken to be Demetrius I Soter, who succeeded Antiochus IV as Seleucid hostage at Rome.

To the replicas or analogous types cited by Miss Richter for the head of a satyr playing the flute (no. 211) can be added the bronze statuette, Louvre 352. The latter was found in Egypt, and this realistic type is therefore probably of Alexandrian origin. Moreover, since the Louvre bronze is part of a group of four statuettes, the satyr, two dancing maenads, and Dionysos, we have the right to admit that the group goes back to a Hellenistic prototype, a fact which gives this flute player its full importance.

Miss Richter's catalogue, of which the excellent illustrations give precious details of the more important pieces, is truly a model of its kind and will be of the greatest service to historians of Greek sculpture.

J. CHARBONNEAUX

MUSÉE DU LOUVRE

LES PORTRAITS GRECS, by *Vagn Poulsen*. Publications de la Glyptotèque Ny Carlsberg No. 5. Pp. 88, pls. 45. Ejnar Munksgaard, Copenhagen, 1954. Danish Crowns, 15.

The Preface sketches the development of the collection of portraits, which began in 1888 with the acquisition of the Tyszkiewicz collection formed in Rome mostly with Roman portraits. From then on, chiefly Roman copies of Greek portraits and a few original Greek ruler portraits were added, many of which were acquired with the help of the great scholars Wolfgang Helbig and Paul Arndt. Among the most celebrated Greek statues in full figure are the two poets, bought from the Borghese Collection, the standing and the seated poet (Nos. 1 and 53) in 1891; the Metrodorus (No. 36) bought in 1920; and the Demosthenes, formerly in Knole (No. 27), bought in 1929. As the Greek portrait was not a bust, to which it had been reduced by the Romans, but a full length statue, these are of the greatest importance not only for the history of portraiture, but, being dated with the lifetime of the person represented as a terminus post quem, also for the history of sculpture.

These statues and many of the portrait heads have been long since published and scientifically discussed in the publications of Arndt, *La Glyptothèque Ny-Carlsberg* and *Griechische und römische Porträts*. Many others are published by the predecessor of Vagn Poulsen, Frederic Poulsen: "Iconographic Studies in the Ny-Carlsberg Glyptothek," in *From the Collections of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek I* (1931); II (1938); III (1942); and in the Catalogues of Ancient Sculpture in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, in different languages (1906-1951), with the illustrations in *Billedstavler til Kataloget over antike Kunstaerker* (1907), and in the supplements (Tillaeg 1915 and 1941). Others are in the portrait books of Hekler, *Greek and Roman Portraits* (1912) and *Bildnisse berühmter Griechen* (1940); Laurenzi, *Ritratti greci* (1941), and Schefold, *Die Bildnisse der antiken Dichter, Redner, und Denker* (1943). Single celebrated heads are found in Boehringer, *Plato* (1935) and *Homer* (1939). Some of the heads of Alexander are published by Bieber, "The Portraits of Alexander the Great," in *PAPS* 93 (1949).

Vagn Poulsen has made good use of the former publications, but he has by no means followed exactly any of his predecessors. He also has removed many modern restorations, had the statues cleaned, and fakes relegated to the storerooms. His careful catalogue gives one and sometimes two or more illustrations for every piece discussed. Each portrait is given its name, often with a question mark, or it is just designated as a type, like a poet or a philosopher. V. Poulsen indicates when and where the portrait was acquired, and when and where it was found. The height, the marble, and the surface condition are described; restorations, missing parts and breaks are listed. The question whether original or copy, the time of both, the number of replicas, the foundation for the name given, for example, through an inscribed bust, are discussed. The attitudes, drapery, headdress, the artistic conception, the quality of the copy, and the attribution to an artist or to a school are discussed. A bibliography for each number is added, but there is neither a general bibliography nor an index.

Among the restorations removed are two which the reviewer regrets: the torso No. 36, pl. 26 had been given by Lippold the head of Metrodorus, and when it arrived in Copenhagen a plaster cast of the head of Metrodorus in Athens had been added to the torso. I found the combination convincing and stylistically satisfactory (see recently, Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (1955) 56, figs. 172-174). The same I feel for the torso No. 54, pls. 40-41, which was drawn with a head of Socrates by Preisler in 1732 and restored with the Lysippian type of head, which again fits perfectly (Bieber, *ibid.* 46f., figs. 132-134). The head No. 16, pl. 13, is a small and inexact copy of the same type.

On the other hand, the only new restoration, the hands of the Demosthenes, No. 27, pl. 19, added with the help of the bronze statuette in private possession in New York and the marble hands found by Hartwig in Rome, is a great improvement over the former illus-

trations with wrong hands, or without hands (Bieber, *ibid.* 66f., figs. 214-229).

Among the new names given to some of the portrait heads, two are daring but appealing. One is Phidias, No. 26, pl. 18, based on the baldheaded non-warrior, who is described by Plutarch, *Perikles* 31.2 as represented on the shield of the Athena Parthenos as fighting next to Perikles. Indeed, he is represented clearly on the copy of the shield from the Strangford collection in the British Museum. The other is Philip of Macedon, for No. 18, pl. 15. A head with a diadem older in date than that of his son Alexander could only be one with a diadem given to the deceased father of the conqueror. The striking physiognomy of this head fits better for Philip than the softer features of a head in Lysippian style, No. 5, pl. 6, named Philip by Arndt. Vagn Poulsen attempts to make this a youthful portrait of Philip in contrast to the other representing the old and passionate Philip. I do not think that the same man can be meant.

The arrangement is roughly chronological for the text as well as for the illustrations, that is, according to the dating of the originals which underlie the Roman copies. Here, however, the reviewer and some other scholars are not always in agreement with Vagn Poulsen. Good examples of unsettled chronology are the portraits of the three great tragic poets (Nos. 8-11, 23-24). We all agree that the three statues set up by Lycurgus in the theater of Dionysos at Athens about 340-330 B.C. are copied in the head of Aeschylus, attested by eight replicas (No. 8, pl. 7); that of Sophocles in the statue in the Lateran Museum; and that of Euripides in the herm from Rieti with a citation from the *Alexandros* of Euripides (No. 11, pl. 10; cf. Bieber, *op.cit.* 58-60, figs. 179-186). We disagree, however, in the dating of the second portraits which exist of each of the three tragic poets, and which, I believe, retain more of the real likenesses of the three than the Lycurgean statues. They also agree with the literary portrait drawn in Aristophanes' *Frogs* in 405 B.C. The ancient tradition that Aeschylus was bald has long since been used to give the name of Aeschylus to the grandiose portrait of a bald man with an old-fashioned beard in the Capitoline Museum, and the teacher on the mosaic who directs the practice for a satyr drama (Stuart Jones, *Sculptures of the Capitoline Museum*, 252, Stanza dei filosofi No. 82, pl. 60; Bieber, *Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen*, pp. 82 and 97, pls. 43, 1 and 50). The two portraits of Aeschylus have been compared by P. Orsi, "Il volto di Eschile" in *Dioniso, Bollettino del Istituto nazionale del dramma antico* 1 (1929) pp. 1-7, pl. 1 (bronze in Florence), pl. 11 (head in the Capitoline Museum). Sophocles is rendered in about 24 replicas in the Farnese type, of which two are in Copenhagen (Nos. 9-10, pls. 8-9) and Euripides in a simpler portrait with about the same number of replicas, of which again two are in Copenhagen (Nos. 23-24, pls. 17 and 23). While Vagn Poulsen puts them among early Hellenistic portraits, Lippold has already seen for both portraits that they must be

placed in the lifetime of the two poets, of whom Sophocles was more venerated and Euripides more popular, in their later years. For the portrait of Aeschines (No. 25, pl. 11) I also believe that it was created in the time of his greatest influence, 340-330, not ca. 280 (Bieber, *Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, 62, figs. 194-197).

The name Kallimachos, given to the head No. 41, pl. 27, of which 40 replicas exist, recognizes the purely Greek character of this head misnamed Vergil by Crome and others. The reviewer and most scholars continue to see in it Menander, worked by the sons of Praxiteles in the Lysippian style, which they have adopted for portraiture from the sons of Lysippos, with whom they worked together (Bieber, *op.cit.* 51-54, figs. 150-157). The name Kallimachos would date the head too late, as he was active in Alexandria about 260-240 B.C. The head of an old man, of whom also about 40 replicas exist and who in several double herms is connected with the head of Menander, is, in Copenhagen, joined in a double herm with a Roman portrait (No. 49, pls. 32-33). For this striking portrait Vagn Poulsen suggests the name Apollonios of Rhodes, the pupil of Kallimachos, active in Alexandria about 247-196. This date, in contrast to the one for Menander, seems to me too early. The reviewer and others believe it to be an invented portrait of Aristophanes, created in the late second century about the same time and in a similar style as the invented portrait of Homer (No. 55, pl. 35), of which about 20 replicas exist (David M. Robinson, in *AJA* 59 [1955] 25-27, figs. 30-33. Bieber, *op.cit.* 143, figs. 596-599).

The portraits of Alexander (Nos. 19-20, 31, 52, 57, 60) and those of the Hellenistic rulers: Ptolemy I (No. 30), Ptolemy III? (Nos. 42-43), Seleucus IV? (No. 51) one would like to see assembled on the same plates, although they are of different periods. The head, No. 60, pl. 45, I believe to be Hadrianic, not a forgery.

A definite history of the Greek portrait would be difficult to write as long as so many problems of names and dates are not yet settled. Vagn Poulsen has made a courageous and mostly convincing attempt for a short and concise history in his Introduction (pp. 9-23). Everybody will agree with him, that there was not as yet real portraiture in the archaic period, that the fourth century was a very great period for portraiture, that the Hellenistic period created a new kind of portrait for the rulers, and also that Greek artists from the beginning to the end—from the statue of Aristogeiton to the head of Homer—were interested in the creation of moral pictures of great men and heroized dead. But the reviewer is more optimistic than Vagn Poulsen in believing that we have attempts at individual portraiture, not only in the early classical period which liked experiments and was a forerunner of Hellenism, but also during the fifth and the early fourth century.

MARGARETE BIEBER

NEW YORK

Συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν μελέτην τῆς ρύμοτομίας τῆς 'Ρόδου, ὑπὸ Ἰ. Δ. Κοντῆ. Pp. 31, pls. 5. 'Ρόδος, 1954.

As a contribution toward the study of the street system of the city of Rhodes, from its foundation to modern times, this modest treatise adds its fund of information not only to the history of Rhodes, but to the subject of ancient city planning, in which archaeologists have found increasing interest in recent years, partly, no doubt, because of the new material which is being made available by air photography.

The author of the present study, Ioannes D. Kondis, as Ephor of Antiquities of the Dodecanese (his title is nowhere given in the pamphlet), has had unusual opportunities to collect information on the Greek, Roman, mediaeval, Turkish and modern streets, from maps of all kinds, literary texts, the results of systematic excavations, an air photo of 1943, and the sometimes very instructive chance discoveries made by the municipal utility services in the course of their routine operations. Modern alterations and improvements in the street system (including those effected by the Italian authorities beginning in 1926) are taken into account, and indeed a part of the purpose of the book is to provide information for use in planning future municipal improvements, in which, it is to be hoped, the ancient street system will be respected. A large amount of useful material is collected here, but the result has no pretension to being a systematic treatment of the subject, and no effort has been made to provide, for purposes of comparison, an account of modern work on Greek city-planning, for which the reader will still have to look, e.g., in von Gerkan, *Griechische Städteanlagen*, in *Olynthus* 12, 171, n. 1, and in Dinsmoor's *Architecture of Ancient Greece* (1950).

In any publication of this kind, the graphic presentation of the material will often be more useful, and more frequently consulted, than the descriptive text, especially if the latter is in a language which not all the students of the subject read with any facility. It is therefore all the more to be regretted that the plates in this publication are so unsatisfactory. Anyone who has any knowledge of the enormous difficulties, financial and bibliographical, with which our heroic colleagues in Greece often have to contend, will realize that some shortcomings must be accepted. Nevertheless one may wish that if it were a matter of costs, some of the text might have been sacrificed in favor of larger and clearer plates, such as a larger format than the present height of the book (25 cm.) would have made possible. The first two plates, showing (1) the traces of the original street system, and (2) the course of the ancient streets on the modern town plan, are so small that they can be used only with the help of a powerful glass, and even so the second plate is so crowded with detail that it is not possible even with a glass to make out in any detail what the relations between the ancient and the modern streets are. Characteristically, the old British Admiralty Chart (pl. 3), which is probably a hundred years old or more, sur-

vives reduction much better than the two modern plans. How clear and informative it is possible to make the graphic presentation of such studies can be seen from the carefully planned and executed illustrations of the studies of ancient cities in Syria by J. Weulersse, "Antioche. Essai de géographie urbaine," and J. Sauvaget, "Le Plan de Laodicée-sur-mer," both published in the *BEtOr* 4 (1934) of the French Institute of Damascus (Sauvaget's article has been recently reprinted in the first volume of the *Mémorial Jean Sauvaget* [Damascus 1954]). But Mr. Kondis has made a valuable contribution to an important topic, and it is to be hoped that he will continue his studies and provide us in due time with the definitive treatment of the subject.

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LES ETRUSQUES, by *Raymond Bloch*. Pp. 120, figs. 12. Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1954.

This account of the Etruscans appears in a popular series and is presumably intended for the French general public. Origin of the Etruscans; History of Etruria; Language and Writing; Public and Private Life; Religion and Art are discussed in a competent and readable manner. The book seems somewhat sketchier than M. Renard's, *Initiation à l'Etruscologie* (Brussels 1941) which also had the advantage of some photographic illustrations. In his opinions R. Bloch keeps to well-trodden paths. Only once does he seem to be rash—in his unqualified assertion that the Etruscans arrived in Italy in the early seventh century B.C. The most refreshing chapter is that on language and writing. Here the author makes use of his study of letters found on the extraordinary bronze crater of Vix (*Revue de philologie*, 1953). He is optimistic over the future of Etruscan "decipherment." Eventually, more Latin-Etruscan bilinguals will be found; he tells an amusing story of how he almost found one.

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ADDENDUM. In my review of R. Herbig's *Jüngeretruskische Steinsarkophage* (AJA 59 [1955] 83) I tried to list Etruscan sarcophagi in the United States. G. R. Edwards reminds me that there are five in the University Museum, Philadelphia, all from Civita Musarna. He quotes S. B. Luce, *Catalogue of the Mediterranean Section* (1921) 185f.

G. M. A. HANFMANN

DIE BRONZEZEITLICHEN VOLLGRIFFSCHWERTER BAYERNS, by *Friedrich Holste*. Münchner Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Vol. 4. Pp. 64, figs. 4, pls. 18. C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Munich, 1953. DM. 14.50.

One of the great tragedies of the Second World War from the point of view of archaeology was the death

of Friedrich Holste on the Russian front in 1942 a few days after he had been appointed to the chair of archaeology in Marburg, made so distinguished by Gero von Merhart and other predecessors. Holste was certainly among the most gifted of the younger German prehistorians. His unpublished and to some extent unfinished works are now appearing edited and completed by his friends.

The present volume is one of these. Its title somewhat belies its scope, for it tells us that we are to read about Bavarian bronze hilted swords. These swords discussed belong to the Middle Bronze Age (Reinecke B and C) and the beginning of the Late Bronze Age (Reinecke D) in southern Germany, and are about contemporary with the Mycenaean Age. But the book actually carries us through all of central Europe, and there is even a look at the Atlantic west. The splendid illustrations and distribution maps cover the area between Switzerland, Denmark and Hungary. We find also a discussion of the earliest flange-hilted swords, which belong to the eastern part of the area. So do the first swords with solid metal hilts, and these gradually spread into southern Germany. Later on, at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age, there come from Hungary the swords with octagonal bronze hilts. The study of this subject is brief, useful and very well provided with lists of finds.

At the same time one is left with a question. The swords of Central Europe and Western Europe were certainly local creations. Yet they were contemporary with Mycenaean swords. What then was the relationship, if any? The editor of this series, Professor Werner, argued cogently in 1950 (*Atti del I^o Congresso Internazionale di Preistoria e Protoistoria Mediterranea*, 291-306) for a Transylvanian origin of both Greek and central European flange-hilted swords. He classed the Mallia sword as insufficiently dated. But the new discoveries in the Middle Helladic grave circle at Mycenae must mean that either the sword idea was older in Greece or that the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age in central Europe must be pushed back to the 17th century.

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DIE KUNST DER GRIECHEN, by Arnold von Salis. Pp. 328, figs. 4, pls. 29. Artemis-Verlag, Zürich, 1953.

Students of Greek art will immediately recognize by the title alone the well known and highly successful book first published in Leipzig in 1919. This edition, complete with a new, explanatory Foreword by the author, is a revision of the original work. The basic form and the provocative chapter headings are preserved, but comparison of the two texts will reveal that in a number of instances Professor von Salis has rewritten sentences to give them greater clarity of meaning, in the light of his changing ideas over the past thirty-five years. This is particularly true in the earlier pages where he sets forth by usage the tenets

of his art historical approach to the history of Greek art.

The physical form of this new edition is considerably more attractive than the original publication. It is less like a school textbook and more like the historical novel one would like to add to one's permanent library. Fewer, larger, and better plates (29 as opposed to 68) appear, and these are scattered throughout the text rather than grouped at the end. The Bruckmann-like scientific printing has given way to bold, modern type.

Additions to the book, not present in the first edition, include a much fuller "Register," followed by a "Zeittafel," completely lacking in the older work. This is arranged chronologically within the sub-titles given by von Salis to various periods of Greek art and comprises a short historical outline followed by a detailed chronology of individual works. It is, of course, easy to be at variance with datings given here, particularly in the quicksands of the Hellenistic period. A fuller description of the plates is followed by a "Literaturverzeichnis," including titles only in German.

Arnold von Salis' original book was a courageous work, and the present edition remains such today. It is one thing for Heinrich Wölfflin to develop a vocabulary of understanding for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries where problems of dating, regional attribution, and copies versus originals do not trouble criticism as they do in Greek sculpture and painting. The application of art historical principles to the art of the Greeks recalls the parable that marks the opening paragraph of Wölfflin's *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe*. Four artists at Tivoli in the nineteenth century set out to render the same landscape in as faithful a manner as possible; the result was "four totally different pictures, as different from each other as the personalities of the four painters."

Therefore, any history of Greek art that is not merely a chronology consisting of proven minutiae or scholarly debates, will always be subject to comment by one whose views on dating and attribution of the undisputed original works vary according to his training, his methods of research, and his approach to the subject. As regards the few copies of fifth century and later sculptures and paintings which von Salis of necessity has had to introduce to illustrate his theses, we may warn away critics with the words of Rhys Carpenter on the further special difficulty of copies (*MAAR* 18 [1941] 19): "One sometimes suspects that scholars tend to please themselves and their peculiar theories in arriving at their estimates between available copies, choosing for especial study the version which suits them best or appeals to them most."

We can only hope that the appearance of a new edition of von Salis for the German-reading public may stimulate a British or American scholar to produce a good general history of Greek art. Beazley and Ashmole's *Greek Sculpture and Painting* or Miss G. M. A. Richter's several indispensable texts have long been the only works approaching these needs.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN CORNELIUS VERMEULE

STUDIES ON THE ICONOGRAPHY OF COSMIC KINGSHIP IN THE ANCIENT WORLD, by H. P. L'Orange. (Institut for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning. Serie A: Forelesninger XXIII.) Pp. 205, figs. 140. Oslo, 1953.

Prof. L'Orange's latest study originated, as he states in his Preface, in a series of lectures given nearly a decade ago, at a congress in Oslo dedicated to the study of the period of great migrations (A.D. 400-800). A popular version of these lectures, incorporating many of the illustrations in the present work, was published in Norwegian in 1949 (*Keiseren på Himmeltronen*), and the study assumed its present form partly as a result of L'Orange's sojourn as a research scholar at Dumbarton Oaks. *Cosmic Kingship* also draws much from L'Orange's earlier studies of ruler-worship in the Graeco-Roman world, "Domus Aurea—Der Sonnenpalast," in *Serta Eitremiana* (Oslo 1942), and *Apotheosis in Ancient Portraiture* (Oslo 1947).

Cosmic Kingship emerges as a series of seventeen essays. These essays, corresponding to the chapters of the book, are all linked by a preoccupation with the worldly (*κοσμικός*) expression of identification with the visible heavens by rulers and their followers from the Hittites in the ancient Near East to the Danish Vikings of the eleventh century A.D. The geographical scope of L'Orange's richly illustrated investigations alone is quite amazing. We find the idea of gods carried through space in the remoter East illustrated (p. 54ff.) by the great eighth century A.D. rock temple of Kailasa in Ellora (Ellūrā, Central India) and by the seventeenth or eighteenth century Mysore temple chariot, still drawn by elephants in the annual processions. These examples also suggest the imaginative wealth of evidence from all periods in the history of ruler-exaltation which L'Orange weaves into the frame of his essays. As the conclusion to the chapter titled "Nero's Cosmic Hall," we encounter a Napoleonic court calendar from the year 1813 (p. 33f.) as a suggestion that court flatterers of recent centuries inherited, through Constantinople, the imperial ideology of the cosmocrator emperor turning the planetary spheres on the "knees of Necessity." In "The Gesture of Thought. The Sign of Logos," the oratorical gesture of the paleochristian Christos Logios is traced down to a seventeenth century portrait by J. R. Werenfels of a professor of theology from Basle (p. 181f., fig. 129). By contrast in the other direction, in "The Gesture of Power. Cosmocrator's Sign" Hermes as the ὑπερδέξιος θεός, stretching out his right arm in magic protection, is illustrated by a late archaic bronze statuette of "Hermes κριοφόρος" in the Walters Art Gallery (p. 163f., fig. 115b; now also, D. K. Hill, *Cat. of Classical Bronze Sculpture*, 123f.).

The three initial chapters trace cosmic architecture from the ancient East through the revolving ceiling (?) of the *cenatio* in Nero's Domus Aurea to various literary descriptions of the throne-room of the ill-fated Sassanid king Khusrau (Chosroes II, A.D. 590-628). The revolving rotunda in the crusader legends

of Prester John is seen as a projection into the realms of fancy of the cosmic throne-room of the ancient Eastern king, specifically in the throne-room or fire temple of Khusrau's residence at Ganzaca (Ganjak). Contemplation of the mechanics of ancient cosmic architecture has been no less fascinating to other modern scholars than it was to medieval historiographers. In his basic article on dome enrichment (*ArtB* 27 [1945] 22, 24f.), Prof. Karl Lehmann gives a more sober view of the sources and reminds us that Herzfeld saw the possible confusion of Khusrau's revolving orbits with a mechanical clock with astrological symbols, a notion rightly rejected by Lehmann as belittling in the extreme the veracity of the chronographers. Lehmann also makes the point that the Islamic writers and Ado of Vienna, rather than the Byzantine sources, distinguish the throne from the hall in which it stood and that Ado's description of the mechanics of Khusrau's dome (L'Orange, p. 19f.) throws light on the way Nero's *cenatio* could have operated, with horses on a treadmill in the cellar. Profs. A. Boëthius and J. M. C. Toynbee have championed the view of Nero's Domus Aurea as a large Italian villa of the early-imperial type. In an article serving as a commentary on L'Orange's *Apotheosis*, Toynbee concludes, "Might not this revolving roof, *quae perpetuo diebus ac noctibus vice mundi circumagit*, have been merely some astronomical device, after the manner of Archimedes' 'sphere,' which captured Nero's fancy?" (*NumChron* [1947] 134). She observes that Suetonius (*Nero*, 31) places his account of it in a list of marvellous devices (such as one might find in descriptions of present-day automobiles); these fittings are all of a most material rather than a heavenly nature.

It is time to join Boëthius (*Eranos Rudbergianus* 44 [1946] 445), Toynbee (*loc.cit.* 132), and recently M. Stokstad (*NumCirc* [October 1954] cols. 393f.) in identification of the building on a Neronian protomedallion illustrated by L'Orange (p. 29, fig. 13) as the Macellum Augusti on the Celian rather than Nero's Domus Aurea with a central domed tholos, equated with the *cenatio praecipua rotunda*. Whether the objects on the balustrades are dolphins or candelabra, or marble rhytons similar to the Conservatori example (*Cat. of the Pal. dei Conservatori*, 169f., pl. 58), the figure in the centre is a statue of Neptune, similar to that in the right foreground of the Torlonia relief with harbor scenes (cf. Stokstad, *op.cit.*, figs. 3 and 10). This immediately suggests a market for distribution of the food supplies so closely connected with dominion of the seas between Ostia and Alexandria. While the years which saw the coining of Rome and Lugdunum dupondii of this type (A.D. 64-66) coincide with construction of the Domus Aurea, they also coincide with the rebuilding of much of Rome, including perhaps the market, after the fire of A.D. 64.

That the coin legend MAC AVG cannot stand for *Machina Augusti* (and therefore refer to the revolving roof of Nero's banqueting-hall) is evident when we note that the contemporary harbor sestertii are labelled PORT·OST AVGVSTI or variants of same and the altar *aes* are identified by their legend ARA

PACIS. Even the round temple with its image in front, on gold and silver of A.D. 64 or slightly later, is accompanied by the legend VESTA, and the popular Temple of Janus types are never without the specific designation IANVM CLVSIT (see Stokstad, figs. 2, 6, 4 and 7). In short, MAC AVG cannot refer to a machine or a part of a building but must refer to a specific building as a whole. Furthermore, the legend Machina Augusti would have subjected Nero and his Domus Aurea to unwanted scorn on the part of satirists. Witness aliquam machinabor machinam, Unde aurum efficiam (Plautus, *Bacchides*, 2.2.54)!

Chapters iv through x are concerned with astral symbolism in the arts and thought of the ancient Near East. The emphasis is on the iconography of the enthroned Sassanid ruler, as seen on various silver plates, seals, and in textile patterns (p. 64ff.), where emerge Byzantine transcriptions of the heraldic apotheosis formula of the chariot of the Sun. We know the motive (as illustrated in L'Orange, figs. 39a, b) to derive from a representation of the Sol Invictus in his chariot which becomes quite popular on imperial coin reverses in the period following Aurelian's construction of the magnificent ναὸς Ἡλίου after his eastern victories in A.D. 273 (L'Orange, p. 147ff., fig. 106k; H. Kähler, *RM* 52 [1937] 94ff.). H. Seyrig has demonstrated (*Syria* 18 [1937] 43ff.) that the deployed, frontal quadriga of Sol was known as early as a coin of Mandeba (Mandaba) in Transjordan, bearing the effigy of Septimius Severus (A.D. 193-211). This coin is evidence that the type predates the Sassanid revival with which it is usually associated and that Syrian art may have received the theme from the Parthians. Such numismatic evidence is a measure of the dangers of the blind comparison of motives, a fault singularly lacking in all the writings of L'Orange; the coin is further support to the copious evidence adduced by the author for the Eastern origins of the diverse themes with which his essays are concerned.

Chapters xi through xiii form the turning point of L'Orange's book, for they bridge the gap in thought and time between the Achaemenid ruler in the world ring or under the protection of Ahuramazda (p. 92f.) and the representation of Christ as Cosmocrator in the *clipeus caelstis* on a diptych from the sixth century A.D. (p. 97, fig. 69). At this point in L'Orange's material, one becomes conscious of the division in the iconography of the temporal ruler, be he a Byzantine emperor with the labarum and cross-on-orb (p. 107f., fig. 81) or Otto II in his deployed biga (p. 112f., fig. 82) and the spiritual Master, Christ the new Lord of the world, *Dominus Mundi* (p. 114ff.). In Chapter xiv, L'Orange shows how astral emblems in the service of man become in Christian art and literature a profanation of the cosmos and its Creator, how Khusrav under his horse-drawn ceiling and Alexander riding skyward behind the griffins of Apollo both become equated with the angel whose fate paralleled that of Hephaestus in certain Greek myths.

This central section of L'Orange's study points up the great revaluation of the Achaemenid, Parthian, and Sassanid contribution to mediaeval Western art,

which has been carried on by various scholars since the turn of the present century. The essence of these chapters and especially of the three longer essays which comprise the remainder of the book belongs to the intellectual age of the later Roman Empire, an epoch so excellently characterized by Prof. G. M. A. Hanfmann as the period of replacement of a vivid mythology by a loftier concept of the divine (*The Season Sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks I*, 142ff.). Hanfmann sums up the shift in emphasis which characterizes the last seventy-five pages of L'Orange's book, "in a Christian world, the emperor could not be regarded as the direct source of cosmic order or cosmic events" (*op.cit.* 183). The emperor lost his supreme position in the cosmic universe following formulation of the papal doctrine of two powers under Pope Gelasius I (A.D. 494). It is quite natural that, with the sacred authority of the popes superior to imperial power, the urge for cosmic expression, further stimulated by notions of Sassanid magnificence to the East, should be transferred to representation of Christian doctrine. The panoply of the Byzantine emperor was more of the nature of ritual splendour than cosmic symbolism. The emperor had become the monocrator, Christ the Cosmocrator.

The last two chapters are given over to two subjects perhaps somewhat less cosmic under strict analysis than those treated in the previous pages. Chapter xvi is titled "The Gesture of Power. Cosmocrator's Sign" and traces the gesture of the raised, extended right hand from the scene of sun rays extending benediction to Echnaton (p. 158f., fig. 114), through Biblical descriptions of Jahve's (Jehovah's) "High Hand" (p. 159ff.), into the iconography of Sol Invictus on the Arch of Constantine (p. 148ff.), and ultimately to the Christ Pantocrator of the *Dominus legem dat* mosaics and monumental relief (p. 165ff.; for the last, in the Metropolitan Museum, see also, J. Rorimer, *Studies for Belle Da Costa Greene*, 161ff.).

Chapter xvii, "The Gesture of Thought. The Sign of Logos," presents an analysis of that Christian gesture now used purely for benediction and best visualized in the famous bronze statue of St. Peter in the Vatican basilica (p. 172f., fig. 120). L'Orange marshals a number of illustrations to prove that until an unspecified time in the middle ages the gesture was purely one of speech, in pagan and Christian art alike. The chapter title might be misleading, for Prof. Hanfmann speaks of L'Orange's *gestus oratorius* as the "teaching" gesture and reserves the term "thinker" gesture for the disciple in the Apamea mosaic and the Peter and Marcellinus Catacomb painting whose pose corresponds to the celebrated Rodin statue (*HSCP* 60 [1951] 205ff., esp. 214f.). Furthermore, Hanfmann (*op.cit.* 213, 215), on evidence built around the Apamea mosaic, rejects the interpretation of the Maius Catacomb fresco and the Dumbarton Oaks terracotta plaque that identifies Christ as the seventh sage. He suggests the early Christian groups are based on transcription of the scene of Socrates as a Scholarch instructing six Socratics, since Socrates was an important

figure in pre-Constantinian discussions of philosophy and Christianity.

In making a few further detailed comments, the reviewer borrows the words of an eminent scholar, Andreas Rumpf, used in characterization of Hanfmann's *Season Sarcophagus*, a book occupied like L'Orange's essays with integration of Late Antique works of art and corresponding literate thought: "a wide field is encompassed which cannot be judged with competence by a classical archaeologist, but about which it will profit him to read" (AJA 58 [1954] 177). A few observations of an archaeological nature, however, are in order. Of the marble ensemble entitled "Jupiter in the cosmos," on which L'Orange lavishes a full-page illustration (p. 94ff., fig. 67), only the upper half of Caelus, most of the two neighbouring Zodiacal signs, and the figure of Jupiter are ancient. Furthermore, there is no evidence that the statuette of Jupiter belongs in the centre of this Neo-Classical restoration (cf. Zoega, *Bassirilievi II*, 108; conveniently reproduced by Reinach, *Rép. Stat.* II, pt. 2, p. 424, 4).

The Jupiter is similar to a number of other, small cult-type statues set about on columns in the Coffee-house of the Villa Torlonia-Albani; the restoration is based on a series of Greek imperial medallions of questionable authenticity which have appeared as line engravings in antiquarian treatises until well into the last century. Caelus is of course closely linked with Jupiter (A. Alföldi, RM 52 [1937] 55f.), but one could restore a Mithraic or Orphic figure here, as in the Modena relief (Aion or Phanes: M. Nilsson, *SymbOslo* 24 [1945] 1ff.; H. Bober, *JWarb* 11 [1948] 13f., pl. 2b) or the group from the Roman camp at Housesteads (Reinach, *op.cit.* IV, 295, 1). While several other possibilities suggest themselves (Helios, Cybele, an imperial or private portrait: see Hanfmann, *Season Sarcophagus I*, 12f., 152f., 247f.; II, 107, note 215, no. 449, figs. 2, 37), we must question seemingly important evidence for the iconography of the supreme Roman divinity in a form certainly taken by apotheosized deities from Eastern religious symbolism.

L'Orange (p. 30f., note 1) and Toynbee (*loc.cit.* 134f.) present differing interpretations of the meagre Roman literary evidence as to whether the Nero-colossus at the entrance of the Domus Aurea represented Nero-Helios or whether it became Helios after its transformation by Vespasian. L'Orange argues that the assumption the colossus did not represent Nero as Helios is impossible, because Vespasian could not change the Nero-colossus to a Helios-colossus "if the colossus did not originally belong to the statuary type of Helios i.e. originally represent the emperor as Helios." This assumes the same fixed type for Helios in the Julio-Claudian period that we find in the Aurelian figure of Sol Invictus standing or running with his hand raised in the *adventus* salutation (L'Orange, pp. 143-153).

Actually, throughout his Graeco-Roman history, Helios is one of the least distinctive statuary types, and one of the easiest to create out of a heroic imperial figure holding a long sceptre and clad only in a short

chlamys (or aegis) about the shoulders (cf. the Julio-Claudian cameo in Vienna: Alföldi, RM 50 [1935] 120ff., pl. 24, 5). In the Berlin colossal statue from Alexandria, one needs the inscription ΔÙ 'Ηλί[ο] . . . to identify this first or second century A.D. version of the divinity (*Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen*, no. 177). The statue type could serve equally well for any Hellenistic ruler copying the style set by Alexander the Great (E. Suhr, *Sculptured Portraits of Greek Statesmen*, 107f.), although L'Orange might argue such Alexander types derive from Helios in any case (*Apotheosis*, 34ff.). With addition of a pilos the type can represent a Dioscuros (F. Poulsen, *Greek and Roman Portraits in English Country Houses*, 12), as the *Incantada* relief in the Louvre demonstrates (Perdrizet, *MonPlot* 31 [1930] 51ff., pl. 7). There is no evidence that the Nero-colossus was more than a statue of Nero in the manner of the Terme ruler, also perhaps Sulla as a Dioscuros (P. Williams Lehmann, AJA 49 [1945] 330ff.; Carpenter, *ibid.* 353ff.). For Vespasian's sculptor to remodel the features and add a radiate crown would be a simple process of Sabine logic (and economy for which Vespasian was notorious), without any suggestions of previous solar apotheosis. Such basic thrift no doubt produced the largess given the *colossi refector* for his job of transformation (Suetonius, *Vespasianus*, 18; see further, Boëthius, *Eranos* 50 [1952] 129ff.).

To L'Orange's interesting discussion of the magic force of the Sabazios hand with the fingers grouped in the classical gesture of speech (p. 184ff., fig. 131), we may add the penetrating analysis of the Sabazios cult, in K. Lehmann and E. Olsen, *Dionysiac Sarcophagi in Baltimore*, 21ff. The fact that the gesture characterizes imperial manifestations of the Sabazios cult may be a product of the vastly expanded Sabazios iconography of the second and third centuries A.D., a period when gestures as well as motives and compositions were freely interchanged among Roman official art, Egyptian religions, the worship of Mithra, and Christianity. In connection with these Eastern cults, L'Orange (p. 155f.) traces the type of the standing Serapis with arm raised in "sign of salvation" or "benediction" to Alexandria in the period of Domitian and rightly suggests a cult statue. J. H. Jongkees goes further and proposes this standing Serapis, known also from the Florence and Louvre bronzes and possibly a colossal statue in the Vatican, as a second cult creation of the fourth-century B.C. master Bryaxis (JHS 68 [1948] 36f.). What is important for Late Antique art in the West is that a colossus of the standing type may have been the cult image of the Severan *Templum Serapis*, for this Serapis shares honors with the seated (Serapis in Campo) figure on Roman gold and silver of Caracalla as sole Augustus (Mattingly, *BMCat.CoinsRom.Emp.* 5, p. 437ff., pl. 68ff.).

The reviewer is always grateful when Prof. L'Orange elects to publish in English, German or Italian, rather than his native tongue. The proofreader dozed on several occasions; the word "averse" (e.g., p. 143, fig.

100) should not be used to describe the obverse of a coin.

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TEMPORAL AND AREAL RELATIONSHIPS IN CENTRAL CALIFORNIAN ARCHAEOLOGY, by Richard K. Beardsley. Reports of the University of California Archaeological Survey, No. 24 (Parts 1 and 2). Berkeley, 1954. Pp. viii + 127, text figs. 8, map, appendix (mimeographed).

This is primarily a report on the excavation of four major aboriginal sites in the Point Reyes—Drakes Bay area north of San Francisco, begun in 1940 by R. F. Heizer and carried on during the remainder of 1940 and in 1941 by R. K. Beardsley. Nine secondary sites were investigated at that time. The war halted most archaeological work in the state, and it was not until 1947 that Beardsley worked over the materials for his Ph.D. dissertation at the University of California. This published version includes some additional notes and references supplied by the editor, R. F. Heizer, such as Carbon 14 dates for certain Central Californian sites, and results of excavations since 1947. C. W. Meighan resumed work in the Point Reyes area in 1949-1950, and has recovered more 16th century European artifacts.

Beardsley's thesis is divided into two parts—the first a descriptive analysis of the archaeological cultures of the Marin County coast, and the second a broader synthesis of Central Californian prehistory. This part combines the coastal data with the work of Lillard, Heizer, and Fenenga in the Lower Sacramento Valley sites and information on the San Francisco Bay shell middens which were studied in the earlier part of this century by Max Uhle, N. C. Nelson, L. L. Loud, and W. E. Schenck. Beardsley published a condensation of this synthesis in *American Antiquity* 14 (1948) 1-28, which contains a stimulating postscript on the wider implications of Central Californian prehistory, not only in the context of the "Greater Southwest" with which it has been linked for many years, but in relation to the Archaic horizons of the Eastern United States to which Haag had called attention in 1942.

Central Californian prehistory has long challenged archaeologists. Like certain other areas into which agriculture, pottery, or elaborate mortuary structures did not penetrate, its numerous and often large midden deposits seemed to the earlier investigators to present a record of virtually changeless primitivity, without discernible intrusions of new peoples or new culture patterns. This picture was altered for the Lower Sacramento Valley by work during the late 1930's, and a threefold sequence (since elaborated) of cultures emerged which roughly resembled the developmental profile obtained in the Santa Barbara and Channel Islands area of Southern California by D. B. Rogers and R. L. Olson. But the earlier work in the San Francisco Bay shellmounds did not fit readily into the

interior valley pattern, and new coastal excavations were called for. The rationale for work in the Point Reyes area rather than in the remnants of the Bay shellmounds lay in the renewed interest in the problem of Sir Francis Drake's 1579 landfall, brought to a head by the discovery of the famous "plate of brass," originally found at Drakes Bay, and painstakingly authenticated by a group of specialists. If, as this find and the contemporary accounts of Drake's visit indicated, the Elizabethan explorer-privateer had stayed five weeks ashore among Indians who almost certainly were the Coast Miwok, excavations in that vicinity ought to yield some evidence in the form of 16th century European objects. Heizer's intention was not merely to recover historically interesting souvenirs of the English sojourn in New Albion, but to establish by their presence an historic datum which would carry back the archaeological European contact horizon nearly 200 years before the founding of Spanish missions in the San Francisco Bay area.

As it turned out, work in the Point Reyes—Drakes Bay sites has so far yielded nothing which can be tied with certainty to the 1579 English visit, but has furnished abundant evidence for the wreck of the *San Agustín*, a Manila ship piloted by Cermeño, which came ashore in 1595 after a voyage across the Pacific. This evidence consists of fragments of 38 different porcelain vessels of the Wan Li era (1573-1619), of the Ming Dynasty, and various iron spikes of the type used to hold together ship's timbers. In spite of the fact that with Carbon 14 we now have a method for obtaining fairly accurate absolute datings for Californian archaeological horizons, the discovery of datable European (or Chinese) artifacts which can be referred to a known historical event is a matter of great consequence for the reconstruction of culture sequences in that area.

Beardsley presents an excellent summary of the natural environment of the geologically and topographically distinctive Point Reyes "triangle," and of its history and ethnography since the 16th century. He then describes the excavations, and the artifacts recovered; the dearth of information on house construction and other non-artifact features is due to the nature of the shell-midden deposits, and not to deficiencies in excavation technique. Without pottery, the most sensitive indices of cultural change are shell ornaments, to the typology and distributions of which Beardsley necessarily devotes much space. Burials, cremations, chipped stone and polished stone implements and ceremonial objects are other important time-markers considered in detail.

In his synthesis of data from the Marin Coast, San Francisco Bay, and Interior Valley areas, Beardsley uses the three major time divisions recognized for the Interior Valley, although the first or *Early Horizon* is so far known only from the Windmiller facies in the interior. Recently it has been assigned a minimal Carbon 14 date of around 2100 B.C., but it probably goes farther back into the third or even fourth millennium B.C. The *Middle Horizon* is represented in all three areas—McClure facies on the Marin Coast, Ellis

Landing on San Francisco Bay, and Morse (plus other facies) in the interior valley. A site of Ellis Landing facies, No. 328, at Newark, on the southeast side of San Francisco Bay, has a C 14 date of around 385 B.C. The *Late Horizon* is divided into two phases, Mendoza facies representing the first phase on the Marin Coast, Estero facies the second. In the interior valley a Phase 1 site, Hotchkiss (CCo 138), of the Hollister facies, has yielded a C 14 date of about A.D. 725. The last period, Phase 2, is estimated to have begun some time before 1595, and persisted until the arrival of Spanish and other European settlers in the late 18th and first half of the 19th centuries. Beardsley did not have any C 14 dates for his reconstruction, but his chronological conclusions fit them without serious changes.

No attempt was made by Beardsley to connect this meaningful and reasonably continuous sequence of cultural data with the various "floating" prehistoric cultures of Central California which are assumed to be considerably more ancient than the *Early Horizon*. At the time he wrote, these included the problematical Borax Lake material reported by M. R. Harrington, the Tranquillity remains from Fresno county, and various earlier isolated cave and auriferous gravel finds. Since 1950, good evidence of a postglacial lithic cultural horizon in Central California, considerably antedating the Lower Sacramento *Early Horizon* has been reported by A. E. Treganza from the Farmington area, Stanislaus County, estimated at between 7000 and 5000 B.C.

Beardsley's monograph is important in that, for the first time in Californian archaeology, regional and temporal cultural relationships have become complex enough to require a fairly sophisticated classificatory system. As further surveys and excavations broaden the area and extend the time-depth of our understanding, Beardsley's schema will undoubtedly require modifications.

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BASKET MAKER II SITES NEAR DURANGO, COLORADO,
by Earl H. Morris and Robert F. Burgh. Carnegie
Institution of Washington Publication No. 604.
Washington, D.C., 1954. Pp. x + 135, figs. 116.

The "Durango dates" have taken their place beside "Jo Brew Ware" and other Southwestern legends; the long-heralded Durango Basket Makers have now been brought to house. For this and other, more important, reasons, the publication here in review is one of the landmarks of Southwestern archaeology. Kidder and Guernsey's *Archaeological Explorations in Northeastern Arizona*, the Shabik'eshchée village, the Mogollon and Harris pithouses and Snaketown, the Sinagua reports, and now the Durango dwellings: these are among the categorical and definitive studies by which our knowledge of early Southwestern culture history

has developed. If the light shed by the present contribution seems less startling, it is not because it is less illuminating but because the times are later—there is a more general light upon the whole Southwestern scene than there was in, say, 1919 or 1929.

The volume itself is a superb production: the text and line drawings clear and concise, the collotype reproductions of photographs truly magnificent. After the usual introductory statement, there is a chapter on the "environment," beginning with a rather long section on structural geology and physiographic history. These geological data are interesting, but they are not, in themselves, cultural data. And so, when they are never referred to again or utilized for any subsequent purpose, one wonders why they were included at all. Not that this is unusual in archaeological reports; I point to this instance merely as a particularly recent and elaborate example.

The next two chapters detail the excavation, the cultural contents, and the eighty-one burials of the more than forty-four houses within the Talus Village and the thirteen houses and Burial Crevise within the two Rock Shelters. On reading these pages, it becomes immediately apparent that the excavation was an extremely delicate and difficult one and, above all, that it was accomplished with extraordinary skill. For one thing, the technique of horizontal stripping is not common in Southwestern archaeological practice, and Morris's extended application of it to such complicated sites is unique; for the purpose of inspiration and instruction, his account is most valuable.

It is unfortunate, therefore, that so many of these profitable insights must be gleaned from reading between the lines and interpreting photographs, with the consequent risk of misunderstanding. It is fervently to be hoped that archaeologists, even at the risk of seeming to themselves to be selfconscious and prolix, will some day take the pains to explain their methods and reasoning processes as thoroughly as they now describe concrete objects. The very validity of those objects, in any cultural interpretation, will be a function of the validity of the methods by which they were brought to light. An explicit explanation of those methods is, therefore, an obligation and a test upon the archaeologist.

The following chapter, on the tree-ring dates, is a condensation of information appearing in the *Tree-Ring Bulletin* and other communications. The cutting dates are stated to range from A.D. 46 to about 330 for the Basket Maker II houses, while the one Basket Maker III house produced a date of A.D. 650. There is said to be one, as yet uncorrelated, series of charcoal which is expected to show that occupation began "... well before A.D. 46 . . . in our opinion a century or more before Christ."

One aspect is perhaps worth special mention: the length of occupation of the sites. The Talus Village gives dates from A.D. 180 to 330, a span of approximately 150 years; the North Shelter a span of 214 years from A.D. 46 to 260. While there are no data to indicate that these were continuous occupations, the authors say that the probabilities are that they were. No

evidence is given for this belief, but in view of cultural and occupational persistence in other areas and sites (e.g., J. C. Kelley, "The Cultural Affiliations and Chronological Position of the Clear Fork Focus," *American Antiquity*, 13:2 [1947] 107; E. W. Haury, *Ventana Cave* [Univ. of New Mexico Press 1950] 530ff.), these durations are not inconceivable. It is beginning to appear that aboriginal man in America, when he found a place to his liking, was apt to stick to the "Auld Sod" with a tenacity surprising to more modern and restless Americans. Although there must have been plenty of temptingly distant and unoccupied fields for him to roam, he apparently tended to stay with those he knew, at least until some strongly compelling circumstance urged him to move.

The next two chapters describe the architectural and artifactual materials recovered. The long-sought Basket Maker II houses turn out to have been constructed over a shallow, irregular depression—not a pit—and were built on a foundation of footlogs in trenches by using short pieces of wood, much after the fashion of bricks, in large quantities of adobe mortar. The evidences of the footlogs are present in several structures, but the wood and adobe superstructure is apparent in only one small section of one house. Thus, when Morris claims that this house-type of "self-supporting walls of mud-bound timbers laid horizontally" is "apparently universal in Basket Maker II" (p. 85), we may properly reserve judgment. We may, however, take note of the far-reaching implications of at least one example of a rather large house with a roof which did not require interior support.

The artifacts are described in the meticulous fashion which has come to be associated with Morris and Burgh; the many provocative and exciting inferences which have been drawn from the authors' practical, logical, and imaginative approach to their materials are an inspiration to read. The present reviewer is particularly enthusiastic about their use of the original blank-form for the purpose of typing projectile points and blades; I have found this procedure to be very productive in my own work, and it is gratifying to learn that others have also done so independently. Among other things, the quantity of bone awls is noteworthy, and potentially corroborative of the designation of "Basket Maker." One also remarks the numbers of gaming pieces: surely a sign of a generous environment, giving both leisure for play and a surplus of something to play for (unless, indeed, the stakes were the non-environmental females of the species).

At this point, however, it should be mentioned that the authors have failed in many and important instances to provide the reader with proveniences and associations for those artifacts which they have described so well. The neglect of these empirical conjunctives makes it impossible, in an annoying number of instances, to interrelate the cultural materials with each other and with the aboriginal environment as set forth at such length in the first chapter. We look in vain for those three burials which were "covered with stones" (p. 26) or for those nine which were found "back downward" (p. 41) or for the specifications of

the metate designated as M1 in Fig. 5 and page 12 and presumably illustrated in either Fig. 84 or 85. It is interesting to know that 31 notched points or knives are of obsidian, but it would be pertinent to know how many of each of the various types of this class were of obsidian. Nor is it possible to correlate any of the burials located and described in the main text with any of those treated in the appendix devoted to "The Durango Skeletons." We can learn the age of two and the sex of none of the burials excavated by Morris and Burgh, although we do have some data on 8 of the 44 taken previously by another person from the Burial Crevise.

The last two chapters deal with the relationships between the Durango materials and those of the so-called Classic Basket Maker sites, and with cross-cultural comparisons between the former and the cultural entities known as Mogollon and Cochise. In the first place, on the basis of presence-and-absence trait lists, it is concluded that the Durango materials are indeed related to the more westerly Basket Maker (it is a definite shock to realize that only six sites, all excavated over thirty years ago and some of them very meagerly reported, are all that can be used for Basket Maker II comparisons!). In the second place, after an analysis of skeletal remains, house types, and stone and bone artifacts, it is concluded that, as between Durango Basket Maker and the Mogollon materials from the Penasco, Hill Top, and Pine Lawn phases, ". . . the identities and similarities are too many to preclude the possibilities that both (Mogollon and Basket Maker) were developed from a single more ancient and more simple culture. We do not say that they *were* but that they *may have been*, and suggest that in the light of present knowledge—or lack of it—the San Pedro stage of the Cochise culture may have been parental to both." There follows a brief résumé of Animas Valley (Durango) culture history, ending with the statement ". . . that there is no reason to doubt that their descendants were among some of the groups which in the 1200's, four centuries or more after the abandonment of the upper Animas, brought Anasazi culture to its zenith in Pueblo III."

Here is much food for thought! Within the range and depth of their data, Morris and Burgh have argued well and, on the basis of their own premises, we can accept their general conclusion: most certainly there did exist cultural relationships between the Durango materials and those from the westerly Basket Maker sites. But what were those relationships? We are curious to know whether the Durango materials are any closer to western San Juan Basket Maker than they are to other Basketmaker-like materials from the broad range over which such manifestations have been reported. A similar question arises in regard to the alleged connections between Durango and the Mogollon and Cochise assemblages. We know, for example, that the latter have been found over a considerable area in the Southwest, although perhaps not in the detail of the southeastern Arizona finds. Is it not possible that the Durango materials might actually be derived from a source other than those published or other than those

published in detail? Without an explicit argument as to the value of certain comparative items in the cultural roster and without a fuller exposition of those items, both qualitatively and quantitatively, how can we be sure of just how Basketmaker-like, how Mogollon-like, how Cochise-like, how Ozark-, Kentucky-, Lovelock-, Gypsum-, southern New Mexico-, Big Bend-, Coahuila-like the Durango materials really are? To say that they are like one, and then to say that that one "may have been parental," tends to obscure the real problem and to set within the literature a conclusion based on a very one-sided analysis of the available data.

It should also be pointed out that the argument from physical type, intended to support the proposition that Durango and Mogollon were related culturally, is quite specious. While physical similarity may accompany cultural similarity, there is no necessity that it must. The burden of proof as to whether it does or does not must rest on other evidence, cultural evidence. And so the problem is right back where it started, and the physical discussion might as well not have been brought up at all.

In its final pages this volume presents several most interesting appendices, on pictographs by Helen Sloan Daniels, on skeletons by C. E. Snow and W. T. Sanders, on plant materials by Volney Jones and R. L. Fonner, and on mammal and bird bones by Hugo Rodeck. The one on plant remains is particularly fine and gives a concise, current, and exciting presentation of the status of the maize problem throughout the Southwest as of 1952.

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PAA-KO, ARCHEOLOGICAL CHRONICLE OF AN INDIAN VILLAGE IN NORTH CENTRAL NEW MEXICO, by *Marjorie F. Lambert*. Parts 1-v. Monograph 19, School of American Research, Santa Fe, New Mexico, 1954. Pp. 183, pls. 39, figs. 54, tables 13. \$6.00.

This report is based upon the field excavations conducted as a joint venture by the Museum of New Mexico, the School of American Research, and the University of New Mexico from the fall of 1935 to the spring of 1937 with funds furnished by the Works Progress Administration. The author supervised the second season's work and also has taken into account the late N. C. Nelson's important research on this site, unpublished notes on which exist at the Laboratory of Anthropology.

Paa-ko lies in the Rio Grande drainage, about 25 miles northeast of Albuquerque. Situated at an altitude of 6,250 feet, the original inhabitants were primarily dependent upon the crops they raised on the nearby flats bordering the San Pedro arroyo, but they also had access to the flora and fauna of the Upper Sonoran, Transition, and Canadian Zones. The short-

ness of the growing season necessitated a secondary dependence upon game animals, as suggested by the large quantities of food bones found in all parts of the excavation.

The site of Paa-ko was selected for a number of reasons. As a part of the Museum's expanding State Monument program, it was easily accessible from both Albuquerque and Santa Fe, and hence would be a good display site. There was the possibility of determining whether Paa-ko was of Tiwa or Tewa affiliation. Surface indications revealed an early occupation, with possibly a hiatus and reoccupation of the site in later times. Historically, a mission structure was supposed to be associated with the site; if this could be located, it would help in identifying the site as Paa-ko. Since the project was terminated sooner than planned, some of these questions were not settled, and, of course, other new ones were raised. But it was determined that the site was first abandoned at the close of Glaze I times and then reoccupied in Glaze V times to be finally abandoned by 1672.

Following a short Preface, the author has divided the description of these excavations, the material recovered, and the discussion about them into five unequal sections or parts: Setting; Architecture; Material Culture; Mortuary Practices; and Discussion. Part vi (48 pp., including 15 plates and 23 tables), for some strange reason printed and bound separately, is by Spencer L. Rogers on "The Physical Type of the Paa-ko Population." [Part vi costs \$3.00, and this regrettable procedure of binding an appendix separately—not Mrs. Lambert's doing at all—thus raises the combined price for the complete Paa-ko report to \$9.00—Asst. Ed.]

The first part—Setting—gives the reasons for establishing the excavation program at Paa-ko and some of the problems involved towards which answers were sought, as well as the general ecological background against which the material findings must be interpreted. Part ii—Architecture—describes the ruin as a whole, some of the field work, and detailed descriptions of the rooms and their furnishings. This part deals with both the prehistoric and historic sections of the ruin. A short "Summary" concludes this part, in which the various architectural features, especially the kivas, are compared to others in the Rio Grande area.

Part iii—Material Culture—is the longest and includes pottery finds as well as the usual stone, bone and shell material. Emphasis is placed upon the pottery since this is still the best diagnostic tool at the archeologist's disposal. The study of the ceramics showed that the Indians who settled Paa-ko arrived there shortly prior to A.D. 1300, and that there was a hiatus in occupation until Glaze V times. This section is beautifully illustrated with photographs and numerous black and white drawings of sherds and restored pots from the excavations. Metal and ceramic objects of European origin are also described, as are vegetal remains. Unfortunately, attempts to date potential tree-ring material were unsuccessful.

Part iv—Mortuary Practices—deals with the burial

customs of the Paa-koans. The best and most interesting data, of course, would have been supplied by comparing the early burials with those of the historic period. Unfortunately, the latter were scarce, and over-all most Paa-koan skeletons were poorly preserved.

The final Part v—Discussion—all too briefly summarized the excavations at Paa-ko and places the site in relation to other known sites in the Rio Grande area. Although the general picture of prehistoric events in the Southwest is rapidly becoming better known, the details are often obscured—especially in that period when the Four Corners country was being abandoned and the Rio Grande was receiving an influx of new peoples. Towards the end of clarifying some of these details, this report plays a vital part. The author, however, does not assume that the Paa-ko report has settled the question of Rio Grande archaeology, but rather that it has cleared up some points while indicating other rather pertinent questions.

The Paa-ko report is number 19 in a Series of Monographs being published by the School of American Research. As such it can well take its place alongside other recent reports in this Series such as *The Excavation of Pindi, Pueblo, N. M. (No. 18)*, or *Salvage Archaeology of the Chama Valley, N. M. (No. 17)*. Although dealing with material excavated almost twenty years ago, both the author and the School of American Research are to be congratulated for issuing this fine report. All too many reports on excavations conducted under the auspices of the Works Progress Administration are today lying fallow in the files of various institutions. It is refreshing to see one institution which is not only keeping up with their publication of current reports, but is also catching up on their backlog of older material.

This report has been published in the same format as others in this Series, with a double column of large readable text and numerous clear photographs and line cut drawings. In a few cases several photographs have been reduced and combined upon one page so that each picture is too small to indicate the desired detail clearly. However, this is a minor distraction, and the Paa-ko report is a valuable contribution to the rapidly growing literature on the prehistoric Southwest.

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AN EARLY ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE NEAR PANUCO, VERA CRUZ, by Richard S. MacNeish. *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Vol. 44, Part 5.* Philadelphia, 1954. Pp. 539-641, text figs. 37. \$2.00.

Panuco is located in the linguistically and archaeologically distinctive area of eastern Mexico known as the Huasteca. The writer of this review worked in the region in 1942 and by means of a fortunately very revealing stratigraphic excavation within the town of

Panuco, and through testing at other sites, was able to postulate a long history for the area. This was divided into six "periods" that seemed to run the gamut of the entire sequence of Pre-Classic, Classic, and Post-Classic horizons that are the generally recognized major divisions of the archaeological history of Mesoamerica.

We mention this previous work because it serves to emphasize the special importance of the new study we are considering. It reports two stratigraphic excavations at a point just north of Panuco where the earliest pottery types known from the previous work (Period I) are found near the surface and where deposits containing pottery and figurines continued downward in one excavation to a total depth of 24 feet. The analysis of this deeper and earlier material results in the formulation of three earlier periods, given the names of Pavón (the earliest), Ponce, and Aguilar. It greatly lengthens, therefore, our stratigraphic column for this area.

In working with only the earliest materials in the Huasteca, MacNeish is involved with some of the most important problems of Mesoamerican archaeology, that of the origin or the processes of origin of the high cultures. He doesn't solve these problems, but he does widen our perspective toward them by bringing to light a new body of material that applies to them, and by describing and analyzing it in great detail. MacNeish provides a very ample discussion, too, of the correlation of this early ceramic sequence with the earliest materials from other portions of Mesoamerica, with the suggestion of two hypotheses favoring alternatively the lowland and highland regions as having priority in the development of the Pre-Classic cultures. Highly detailed and as complex as the problems with which it is concerned, this monograph will be of less interest, perhaps, to those who are not specialists in the American field. But when we have a few more like it, we will begin to have some knowledge of the beginning of civilization in Mesoamerica.

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NEW YORK, NEW YORK

COPAN CERAMICS, A STUDY OF SOUTHEASTERN MAYA POTTERY, by John M. Longyear, III. Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication 597. Washington, D.C., 1952. Pp. xiii + 114, figs. 118, maps 3, tables 14. \$5.25 paper, \$6.25 cloth.

The author conducted excavations for ceramic material at Copan, Honduras, during 1938, 1939, and 1946, under a joint expedition of Carnegie Institution and the Honduran government. This report is based largely upon the collections resulting from that work, plus materials gathered there by the Peabody Museum of Harvard University in 1891-97. A clear ceramic sequence has been determined for this great archaeological site, which has enabled Longyear to reconstruct the history of Copan and to trace its relations with

other Maya centers in the same region and in the Guatemala highlands and the Peten district.

To present his findings, Longyear divided his monograph into two sections. The first part gives a general summary of Copan's ceramic sequence, describes special deposits such as graves, tombs, and caches, and the pottery of outstanding interest, and concludes with an account of "Copan's history and a consideration of archaeological and historical problems in the southeastern Maya area as a whole." The second part is devoted to a detailed description of the ceramics and artifacts of Copan. By this means, the requirements both of the average reader and of the specialist are adequately met. The pages of text are accompanied by the illustrations, wherein wash drawings are used to good advantage. Important chronological correlations are included in the tables, and a list of references is given.

In the Introduction, Longyear gives the setting of Copan and summarizes its history since 1920, when S. G. Morley's *Inscriptions of Copan* was published. Ceramic studies and problems in the southeastern Maya area are then discussed, and the occupational periods at Copan set forth: Archaic, Early Classic, Full Classic, and Post-Classic.

Part 1 is presented under five subdivisions, the last of which gives the author's conclusions. Here, the cultural remains pertaining to each period are set forth and their implications indicated. Longyear brings life to the inanimate specimens, and shows them in a meaningful perspective. He devotes a section to the relative dating of the ceramic sequence, treating his material period by period. The Copan stelae were found to be of little use in ceramic dating; cross-ties of pottery types from other archaeological sites were more rewarding.

Then follows a section on absolute dating of the sequence, in which Longyear reviews the most plausible chronologies and correlations. In a series of tables, he

* Note by Asst. Ed.—These dates, or any radiocarbon dates on wood, actually apply, however, as T. L. Smiley of the University of Arizona has recently pointed out, to the whole pe-

riod of growth of the tree, or some portion thereof—not, like a tree-ring bark date, to when it was cut. E.K.R.

shows relationships between the Maya and Mexican sequences, particularly in terms of the 11.16.0.0.0 and 11.3.0.0.0 correlations. He then demonstrates how the former best meets the known situations. The latter part of the section of conclusions, under "Problems and Queries," summarizes the peculiar assemblages of culture traits in various periods in Yucatan. Finally, Longyear offers certain suggestions and supports his views with logical evidence.

Part II, under section 6, presents the skeletal data for Copan. Section 7 gives detailed description of Copan pottery and artifacts. The splendid illustrations, then, conveniently follow the textual material.

Fellow archaeologists delving into the problems of Mesoamerican ceramics may well appreciate the fact that Longyear had the opportunity of working over the Copan materials so thoroughly, and we may all benefit from his excellent treatment of his subject.

Recently, Dr. Willard F. Libby, professor of chemistry in the University of Chicago's Institute of Nuclear Studies, who devised the atomic calendar which determines the age of organic objects by detecting how much radioactive carbon they contain, made it known that three specimens from wooden lintels, bearing the hieroglyphic date 9.15.10.0.0, at the ruin of Tikal—a Maya site in the Peten district—had yielded radiocarbon dates. According to the 11.16.0.0.0 correlation, the hieroglyphic date is read as 30 June A.D. 741; according to the 11.3.0.0.0 correlation, it is translated as 30 October A.D. 481. Dr. Libby's results were: A.D. 481 \pm 120 years, A.D. 469 \pm 120, and A.D. 433 \pm 170.* This makes Longyear's observation, that the hieroglyphs recorded on the Copan stelae were of little use in ceramic dating, take on further significance. Perhaps archaeological revelations will prove more reliable than too close ties to glyphic records.

BERTHA P. DUTTON

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SANTA FE

riod of growth of the tree, or some portion thereof—not, like a tree-ring bark date, to when it was cut. E.K.R.

ILLUSTRATIONS



FIG. 1. Head in Sisilianos Collection



FIG. 2. Head in Sisilianos Collection,
front



FIG. 3. Coins of Arsinoe Philadelphos
(*B. Mus. Cat.*, pl. vii, 1, 3)



FIG. 4. Coin of Ephesus-Arsinoe
(Svoronos III, pl. xxvi, 11)



FIG. 5. Jugate Coin: Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II
(*MonPiot* 47 [1953], fig. 7)



FIG. 6. Coin of deified Arsinoe
(*MonPiot* 47 [1953], fig. 22)



FIG. 7. Antoniadis Head. Alexandria
(Adriani, pl. vii)



FIG. 8. Antoniadis Head, profile
(Adriani, pl. ix)



FIG. 1. Bronze Lion from Timna



FIG. 2. Bronze Lion from Timna



FIG. 3. Head of Infant Rider from Bronze Lion from Timna



FIG. 4. Marble Head of Boy. FIG. 5. Terracotta Head from Hadra. Museum of Alexandria



Museum of Alexandria



FIG. 6. Plaster Mould. Cairo Museum

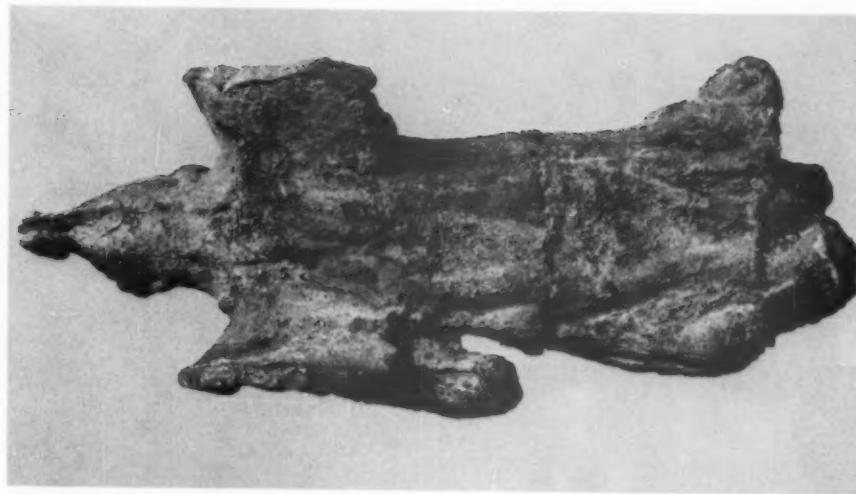


FIG. 9.

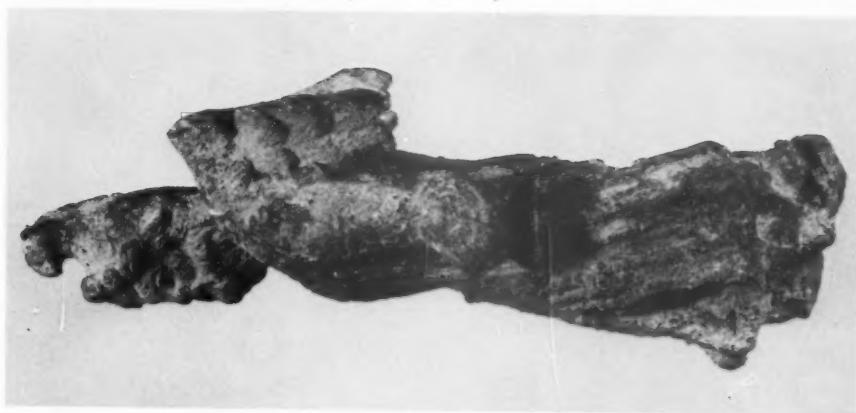


FIG. 8. Bronze Statuette from Timna



FIG. 7.



FIG. 10. Frieze from a Hadra Vase. National Museum, Athens



FIG. 11. Capital from the Agora of Salamis, Cyprus.
British Museum



FIG. 12. Marble Acroterion.
Leningrad Museum



FIG. 13. South Arabian Seal.
Collection Altounian, London



FIG. 15. Detail from the Tazza Farnese. Naples Museum



FIG. 14. Alabaster Statuette of Isis from the Cemetery of Timna

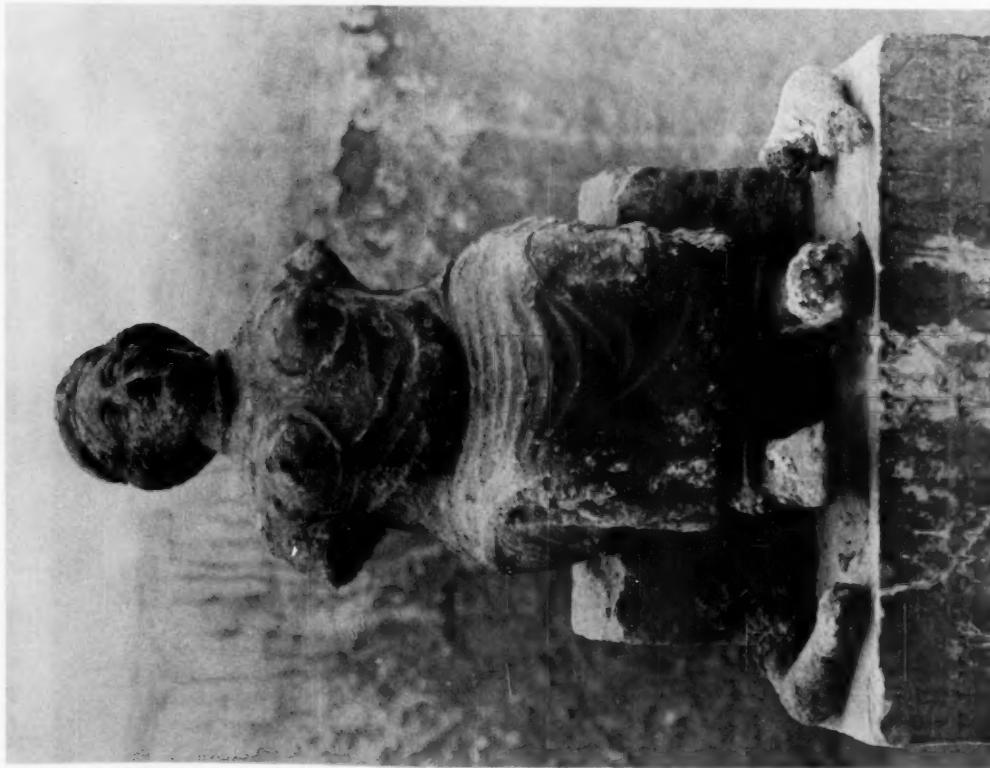
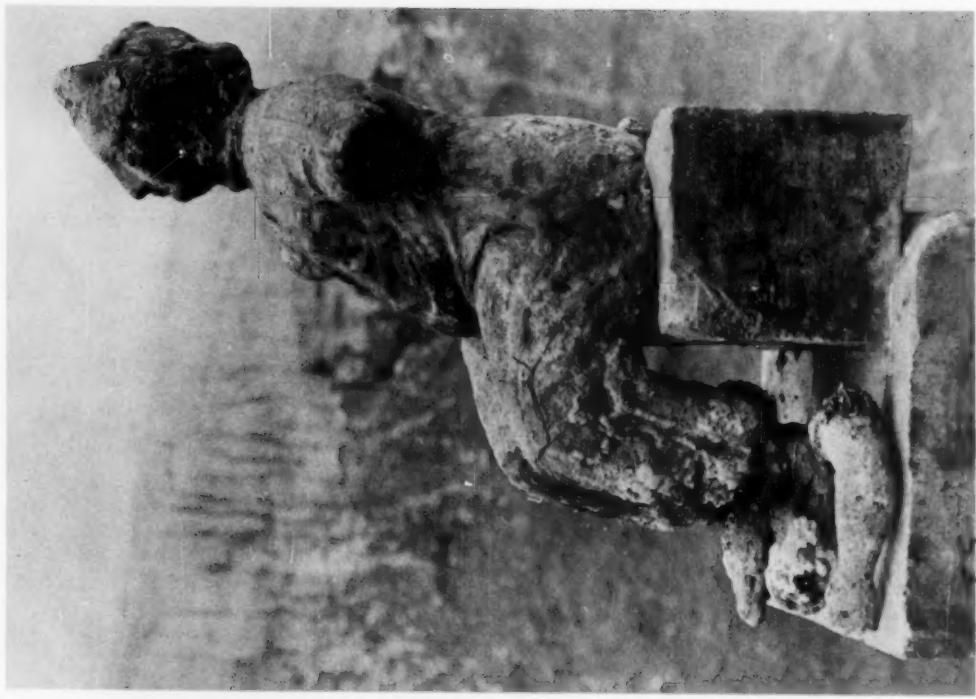


FIG. 16. Bronze Statue of Lady Bar'at from Timna. Aden Museum

FIG. 17.

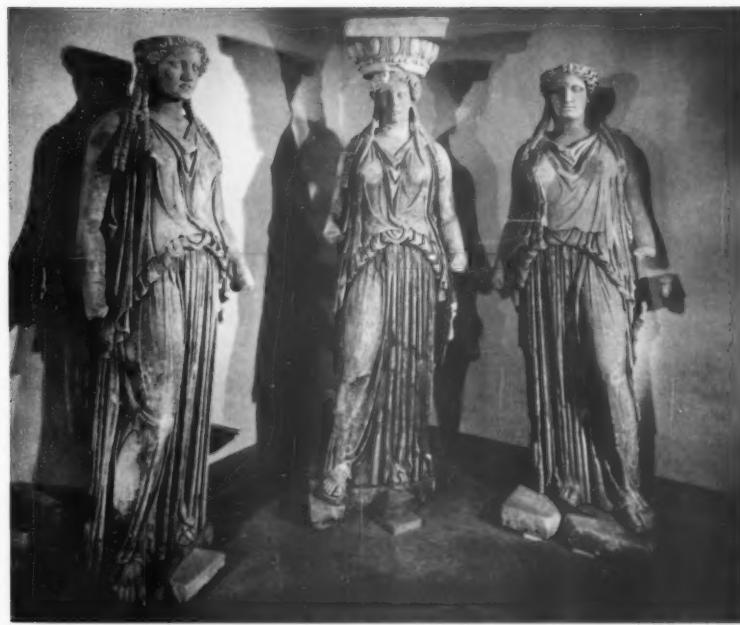


FIG. 1. Hadrian's Villa. Three Caryatids



FIG. 2. Hadrian's Villa. Wounded Amazon



FIG. 3. Hadrian's Villa. Ares

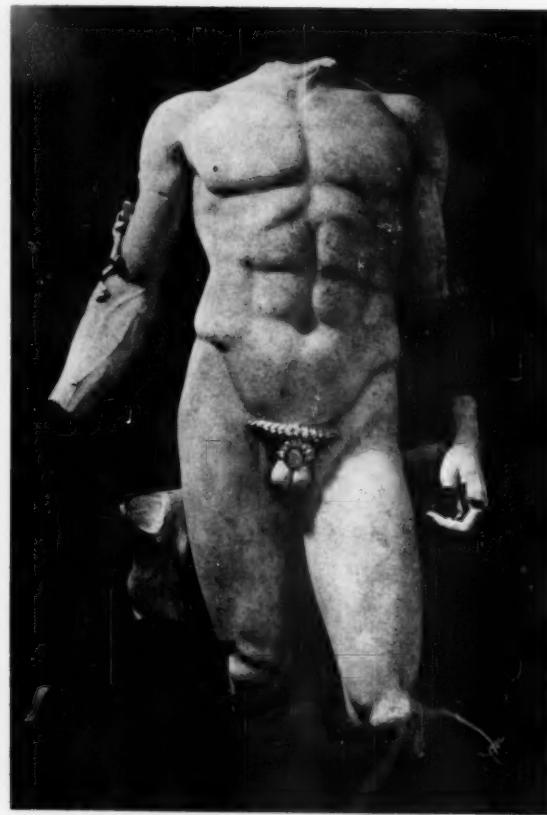
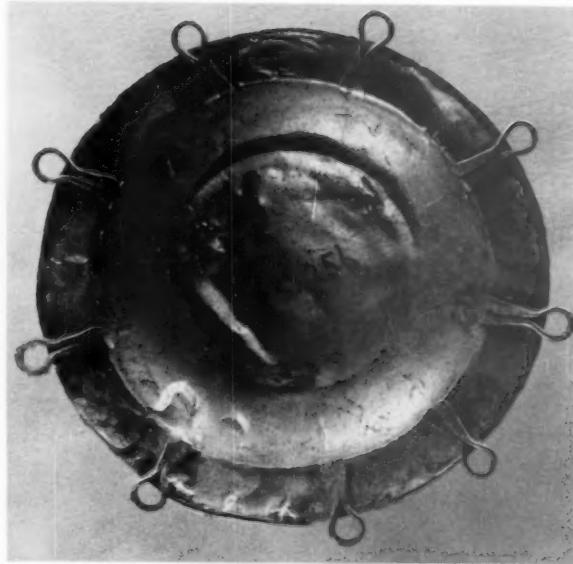


FIG. 4. Hadrian's Villa. Hermes

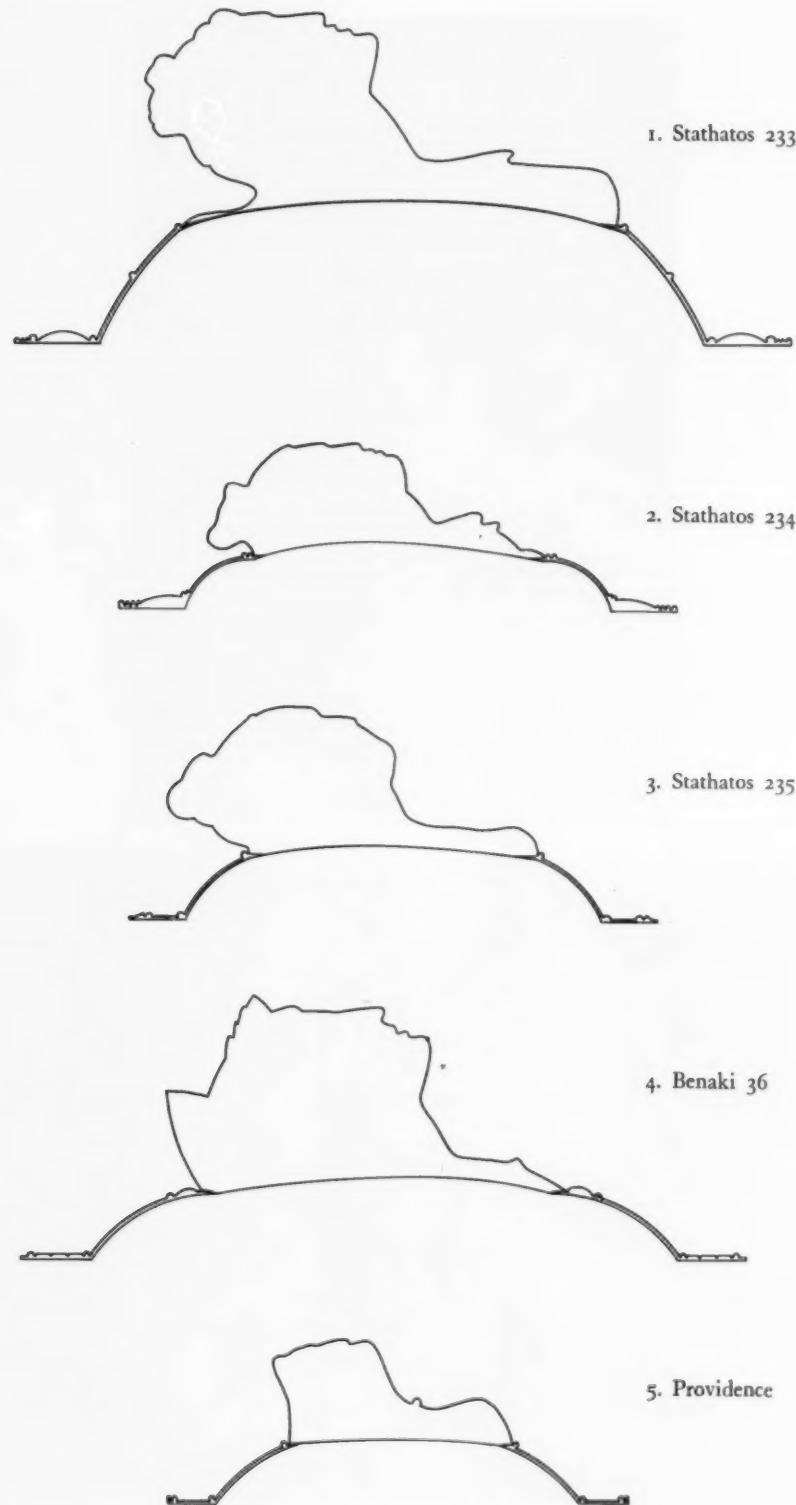


FIG. 5. Hadrian's Villa. Father Tiber, Wolf and Twins



Médaillon en or du Musée de Providence

PLATE 65 AMANDRY



Médaillons en or: profils, 1:1



FIG. 1. Athens, Acropolis. Southwest Wing of Propylaea Showing Newly Reconstructed Parts



FIG. 2. Lerna. Early Helladic "House of Tiles." Western Complex from East

PLATE 67 VANDERPOOL



FIG. 4. Mycenae. Built Tomb Near Center of Grave Circle from North



FIG. 5. Epidavros Limera. Mycenaean Vases



FIG. 3. Eleusis. Proto-Attic Amphora

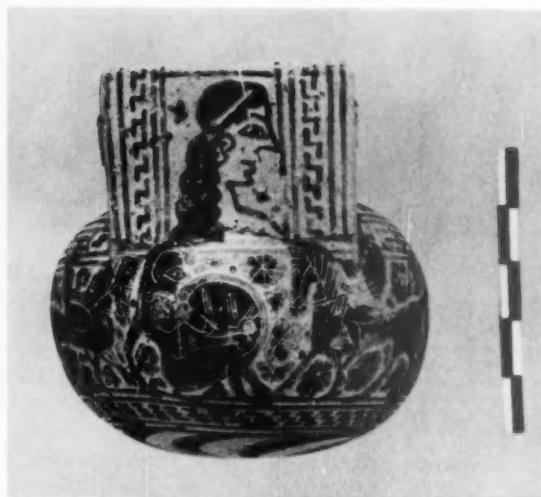


FIG. 6. Isthmus of Corinth. Aryballos



FIG. 7. Isthmus of Corinth. Two Coins from Temple Deposit, Obverse and Reverse



FIG. 8.

Corinth. Temple Hill. Aryballos



FIG. 9.



FIG. 10. Corinth. Lechaion Cemetery. Aryballos



FIG. 11. Argos. Polychrome Pyxis

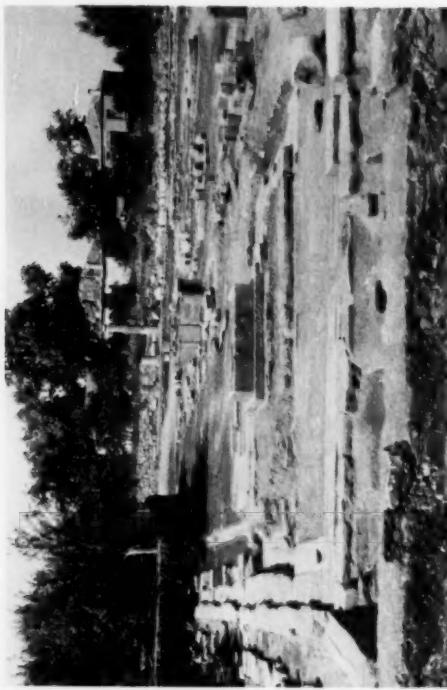


FIG. 13. Thasos, View of Agora from South,
with Monumental Altar



FIG. 12. Emporio, Chios. Early Helladic Askos



FIG. 14. Antikyra, Phokis. Terracotta Antefix



FIG. 15. Gortys, Arcadia. Bath from Southeast



FIG. 1. Beycesultan Hüyük. Chalices and fruit-stands



FIG. 2. Dascylium. Achaemenid bulla



FIG. 3. Phocaea. Detail of East Greek black-figure vase



FIG. 4. Nemrud Dağ. West Terrace.
Relief of Tyche of Commagene



FIG. 5. Nemrud Dağ. West Terrace.
Guardian lion



FIG. 6. Nemrud Dağ. East Court, North Socle I.
Head of Darius



FIG. 8. Arsameia. South side of Eski Kale
with inscription and entrance to tunnel

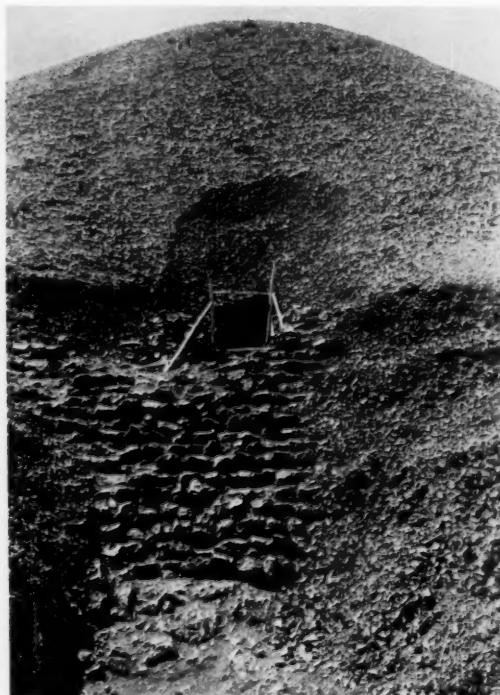


FIG. 7. Nemrud Dağ. East Terrace.
Stepped retaining wall behind colossal statue of Zeus



FIG. 9. Arsameia. Column I of the royal inscription

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Volume VI. THE FARWELL COLLECTION. By Franklin P. Johnson. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1953. 76 pages, 90 illustrations. Price (postpaid): \$4.15 (to members of the Archaeological Institute of America and of the College Art Association of America, \$3.15).

DEDICATIONS FROM THE ATHENIAN AKROPOLIS. A catalogue of the inscriptions of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. By Antony E. Raubitschek. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1949. 545 pages, 338 figures in text. Price (postpaid): \$15.00.

RELATIVE CHRONOLOGIES IN OLD WORLD ARCHEOLOGY. Edited by Robert W. Ehrich. Published by the University of Chicago Press in cooperation with the American Anthropological Association and the Archaeological Institute of America, Chicago, 1954. 154 pages; maps and drawings. Price (postpaid): \$2.50 (for members of the Archaeological Institute of America, \$1.50).

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